

CRISES IN THE EARLY CHURCH

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER

Central BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY



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CRISES IN THE EARLY CHURCH

BY

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER

Professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary



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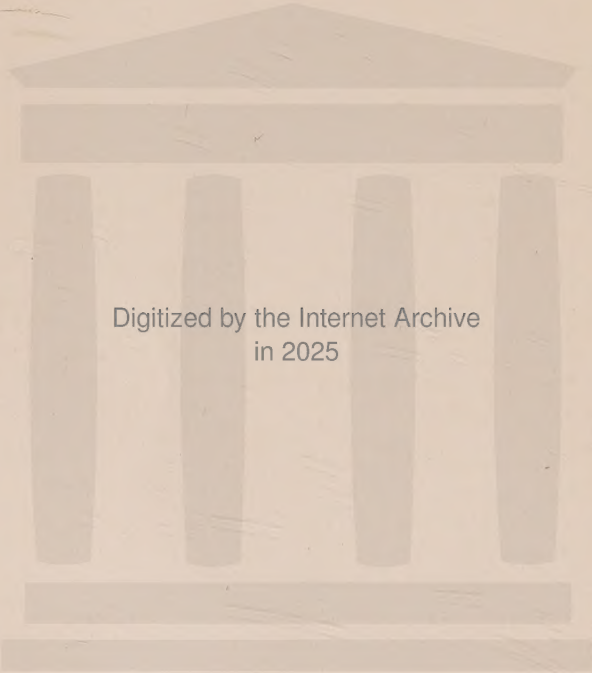
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THE HONORED MEMORY OF
MY THREE AMERICAN TEACHERS IN CHURCH HISTORY
THE FIRST TWO MY PREDECESSORS IN THIS CHAIR

John Fletcher Hurst
Scholar, Author, Traveler, Bishop

George Richard Crooks
Scholar, Ecclesiastical Reformer, Theologian

Egbert Coffin Smyth
Scholar, Theologian, Seer

PREFACE

I HAVE been asked to give a brief but adequate discussion of the crises in early Christian history, so that they could be understood by ministers, theological students, and laymen who might be interested in the origins of their religion—a discussion founded on a study of the sources and of modern scholars. This little book is a modest attempt to meet that request. For the sake of those who wish to verify statements made in the text and to carry on further studies, it has been necessary to add notes; but these have been made as short as possible, and it is hoped that they will not interfere with the pleasure of reading by those who do not care for them. Brief bibliographical lists will be found in an appendix. In that appendix also I have taken occasion to add some information on points referred to in chapters I and IV, namely, on the authenticity of the Great Commission and baptismal command (p. 160) and on that most interesting movement, Montanism (p. 161).

As to the true attitude of the student of Church history let the reader turn to the paragraph introducing the literature (p. 159). If the fasci-

nating study of history is of any value at all, it is to make one esteem truth and fact more than all things else; indeed, to make one care much for truth but nothing for shibboleths, whether the so-called liberal or the so-called conservative.

CHAPTER I

THE JEWISH CRISIS: OR, SHALL CHRISTIANITY BE A SECT OF THE JEWS?—THE NEW TESTAMENT PHASE

WE moderns can have but little conception of the fearful conflicts through which early Christianity passed, or of how great was the cost of our inheritance. It is the aim of this book to tell something about those conflicts, how they arose, what was involved in them, and how they were settled. It may be too that indirectly a little light may be thrown on present-day questions.

First, then, the Jewish agitation. What was our Lord's attitude toward the law, the institutions and customs of his people? Christ was born a Jew, was circumcised, educated, and inducted into all the privileges and rights of a Jew. He, accordingly, recognized cordially all the nobler elements of his ancestral faith. He went up to its feasts, he attended its synagogues, he studied its sacred books, he revered its great men, he gloried in its history, and felt himself a part of that venerable tradition which went back to Abraham. He stood squarely on the Old Testament. He quoted it to decide questions in doctrine and life; his own religious consciousness

2 was formed in part by sinking himself into the books of its prophets and psalmists. He deliberately shut off from his gaze the literature and civilizations of the Orient and of the West, knowing that for his purpose as the Messiah of Israel and Redeemer of men they had nothing to offer. This did not mean that he had no sympathy for their culture, but that *for salvation* the Jewish religion was sufficient. He would have said that so far as the Greek or any other religion or civilization had truth he was its author (John 1. 9), and he deliberately extended the horizon of God's kingdom far beyond the pent-up Utica of Judaism (Matt. 8. 11; compare Luke 13. 29, 30). But for the spiritual regeneration of men, which was his task, the Jews were the God-ordained instruments (John 4. 22). That any essential element in the Jewish faith or worship as revealed in the Old Testament should pass away as a frivolous or vain thing would have seemed to him preposterous. Not a jot must fail. All must be taken up and fulfilled in its highest and permanent meaning by him (Matt. 5. 17, 18).

On the other hand, Christ recognized that Judaism itself was intended to be a universal, eternal religion in all those things worthy of such destination, and that he was to be the instrument of it. The vision of the Old Testament prophets went far beyond local or temporal

boundaries. Their spiritual messages were for all mankind. In other words, there was a vast *Christian* element in the Old Testament, an element that had been covered up by a multitude of extra-biblical and post-biblical ideas and customs and commandments. To sweep away these latter, to break their intolerable yoke, and to fasten the gaze of Israel on its great spiritual treasure—that was one of the aims of Jesus. Therefore he quoted the liberating messages of the prophets, and felt that his mission was to carry out their ideas (Luke 4. 17-19; Matt. 9. 13, etc.). The spiritual nature and universal destination of Judaism as summed up and flowered out in Christianity, therefore, was something not brought in from without, but was a part of the inmost consciousness of Jesus steeped in the study of the prophets and wise men.

It was therefore no afterthought on Jesus's part, no daring program, no break with the spiritual ideas of Judaism, when he gave the great commission, "Go and make disciples of all," etc. (Matt. 28. 19); nor need that commission be a stumbling-block to critics. Even Moffatt is swept off his feet here by the winds from Germany. He says¹: (1) That the conception of Jesus as the source of authoritative rules and regulations for the Church is not primitive. How late is it, then? The disciples feel the force of his authority in

¹ *Historical New Testament*, 1901, pp. 647-649.

Acts 1. 4, 6. But Christ gave no "authoritative rules and regulations." He spoke not as the scribes, not as a lawyer, but as a prophet, and the great commission, the Lord's Supper, and baptism were not given as "rules and regulations," but, rather, as spiritual principles and institutions. (2) The idea of Christ's spiritual presence (Matt. 28. 20) can also hardly be primitive. But it is already spoken in Matt. 18. 20 and is involved in 11. 28, 29; see also 18. 5. The idea is at the background of much of Christ's teaching. (3) The universal mission of Matt. 28. 19, 20 could not have been known to the disciples, for they "lived for years in flagrant disobedience to their Master's solemn command." Did they? The command was to begin at Jerusalem (Luke 24. 47) and thence go forth. This they did. Peter went on missions outside of Jerusalem, receiving the Samaritans and Roman proselytes at Cæsarea and finally up to Antioch and on to Rome. James, the son of Zebedee, did not live long enough to carry out the commission, and his namesake James, the brother of the Lord, had his duties in the home city. John was finally not disobedient to the commission, though his youth may have excused him from too early battling with the troubled sea. Nor is it fair to say that till Providence had thrust them out on the Gentile mission they could not rightly feel that it was being carried out for them by an-

other, as by Paul. Nor was their recognition of him "reluctant," but cordial and effective (Acts 15. 25, 26). We must remember also that the great commission meant Jew as well as Gentile. "All the world" includes Jerusalem and the Dispersion as well as Rome. They could not be blamed for feeling that one way not to carry out Jesus's wish was to refuse to preach the gospel in their native land. (4) Moffatt objects also to the "incipient Trinitarianism" of Matt. 28. 19 as too early, but he acknowledges that "every Jew had an idea of the Spirit," and as there is no objection to the Father, the only difficulty is the second member, whose absolute deity is already expressed in 16. 16. The Trinitarianism of Matt. 28. 19 is only a brief formula of what is implicit and explicit throughout the whole gospel, and it would have caused no surprise in the earliest Church, in whose consciousness it floated full and clear (Acts 2. 33, 36). (5) The only real stumbling-block is the fact that baptism is always given in the name of Christ in the New Testament, not in the name of the Trinity. It is not a reply to this to say that in all such passages all that is intended is to express the idea that the baptized embraced Christianity, without implying anything as to the formula used in their baptism. The uniform use of a part of a formula "in the name of" seems to show that the passage intended something more explicit than that. There is not

the least doubt that the baptisms in the Acts were in the name of Jesus only, but that does not necessarily mean that Jesus never spoke Matt. 28. 19. To show that it does mean that, we would have to prove (1) that baptism in the name of Christ did not mediate God and send the Holy Spirit, and (2) that in Matt. 28. 19 Christ was giving a form of words to be actually used in every case of baptism, and not, rather, stating a great religious principle in reference to which all baptisms should be performed.¹

As we enter the Acts we find exactly what we should expect from the preceding history, namely, a special activity among the Jews of Jerusalem and Palestine, but with glimpses of a larger field and efforts to cultivate it. In the first ingathering it was said, "The promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off" (Acts 2. 39), which almost seems an echo of the great commission. The gospel was equally for the Jews at home and the Gentiles abroad, and therefore the apostles and first Christians did not at all feel that they must come out from Judaism. They continued steadfastly in the temple (2. 46), whither they went up at the hour of prayer (3. 1), preached in Solomon's Porch (3. 11, 12), and interpreted their new

¹ See further my remarks in *Methodist Review* (New York), January, 1910, pp. 14-16.

found joy and life as the sincere and cordial children of Abraham, just as Wesley did his epoch-making experience of 1738 in his relation to the Church of England.

But in both cases the experiences went deeper than they knew, and had implications wider than they dreamed. A crystallized and conventionalized ecclesiasticism cannot well adapt itself to new life, much less the degenerate Judaism of the first century. The miracle of the healing of the lame man, with the speech of Peter that followed it, led to persecution from the Sadducean officials, a persecution which broke out into momentary frenzy under the strong and brilliant speech of Stephen, the Hellenist, who promised to be the greatest man in the early Church. (A Hellenist was simply a Greek-speaking Jew.) There was nothing in the address of Stephen to call out the Jewish wrath, if the murderers had been open to the appeal of Old Testament history and had any heart for its lessons. The Stephen tragedy is an illustration of how the recognized guardians of religion may become so warped, hardened, and skeptical that they do defiance to the fundamental things they profess to believe, and think they are doing God service in their crimes—of all of which Church history furnishes many examples.

Farther afield go the apostles and other workers, in the spirit at least of Matt. 28. 19, if

not according to the letter. Philip breaks the way into Samaria, and Peter and John receive the converts into the Church on exactly the same basis as the Hebrew Christians (Acts 8. 5, 14ff.). The God-fearer (*σεβόμενος*, a heathen who worshiped the God of the Jews) of Candace's court in far-away Ethiopia receives the faith and is sent on his way rejoicing, and Peter admits the Roman God-fearer Cornelius into all the privileges of Christianity without circumcision (see chapter 10). In connection with his reception the regular Jewish Christians ("the circumcision that believed") were amazed at the indifference of the Spirit to their prerogatives, fairly due them as standing in an ancient historical succession, and looked with wonder at his marvelous gifts bestowed without hesitation on Gentiles (10. 45, 46). Soon unknown workers from Cyprus and Cyrene introduced the gospel into the important city of Antioch (Syria), made special appeal to the Greek-speaking Jews or to the Gentiles (the MSS. are hopelessly divided between *Ἑλληνιστάς* and *Ἕλληνες*, and we shall probably never know which is right), who responded with alacrity (11. 20, 21). Then Barnabas was sent down by the Jerusalem brethren, who greeted the new foreign Church with joy, confirmed them in the faith, went on to Tarsus to hunt up Paul, and with him returned and labored for some time in that Asiatic Greek city.

We now come to an event which precipitated the Jewish crisis. Paul and Barnabas take up what is called the first missionary journey (A. D. 47), and when they reach Antioch, in Pisidia, they preach with some success and much popular interest. But finally the Jews set themselves strongly against the evangelists, and this opposition Paul interpreted as a providential hint to try other doors. "It is necessary," he said, "that the word of God should first be spoken to Jews; but since ye thrust it from you, lo, we turn to the [pagan] Greeks [Gentiles], for so hath the Lord commanded us [Isa. 49. 6 being the passage the apostle had in mind]. Then the Gentiles were glad when they heard this, and many believed, that is, as many as were disposed or set [τεταγμένος, by whom it is not said] to eternal life believed" (13. 46, 48). The apostles followed the same course in Iconium, and once more received pagans into the church (14. 1). After various sufferings they reach the Greek church of Antioch in Syria, and tell them of what has happened, especially of the conversion of the Gentiles (verse 27).

Unfortunately some of the converts from the Pharisees in Jerusalem had so far forgotten their Isaiah and the deeper trend of Judaism and Christianity as to hold, not that the Gentile mission was unauthorized, but that it must not receive converts except through

Mosaism ("needful to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses," 15. 5). In a council held in Jerusalem—the first ever summoned—this whole question was threshed out (chapter 15). We need not be surprised that in the first set speech delivered to the council Peter took a line in the true spirit of Matt. 28. 19. Paul and Barnabas then gave a history of their work among the Gentiles, and James, uterine brother of Jesus, who held the chief place of honor and influence in the home church, closed the discussion on the same side with Peter and Paul, urging, however, for expediency's sake to prevent scandalizing devout Jews, that these Gentile converts, while free from the Mosaic law, should abstain from the sacrificial meals of pagans with their frequent immorality, from blood, and from things strangled (verses 20-29; 16. 4). This decree referred only to Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (15. 23), and therefore in places outside of that region Paul and the other workers felt themselves under no obligation to introduce it. Thus was the first phase of the Jewish crisis passed.

"Advanced" critics shy at the fourfold recommendations of this council to the Gentiles (things sacrificed to idols, blood, etc., verses 20, 29), and the younger Seeberg is so courteous as to say that those who assert the historicalness of Luke's account have either not considered the subject or

are impervious to evidence.¹ But even the great rationalist Pfleiderer admits² that the prohibitions fit well into the historical situation ("Such heathen customs or immoralities as were especially offensive to the Jew on account of his habit as to legal or moral cleanness, and therefore the intermission of these things on the part of the heathen Christians as a condition of brotherly intercourse, especially of table communion in mixed societies or churches, seemed necessary") much better then than a half century later. Still Pfleiderer does not believe the account historical, for the following reasons: (1) In Paul's account of his visit to Jerusalem in Gal. 2. 10 he says that the only condition of the free carrying out of his Gentile apostleship mentioned by the Jerusalem apostles was the remembering the poor. But it is by no means certain that the visit to Jerusalem of Gal. 2 is the same as that of Acts 15. It may be either the contribution or benevolence visit of Acts 11. 30; 12. 25, or a flying intermediate one not mentioned in the Acts. If the reader will turn to Professor Vernon Bartlett's discussion³ he will find that the ordinary supposition of critics that the visits of Gal. 2 and Acts 15 are the same is by no means necessary. But only on that supposition are their ob-

¹ *Theologisches Literatur-Blatt*, 1907, col. 17.

² *Das Urchristentum*, 2 Aufl. 1902, vol. i, p. 507.

³ *Apostolic Age*, 1900, pp. 53-62.

jections valid. (2) In Antioch, in the strife with Peter, where the question was a related one, that of table communion between Gentile and Jewish Christians, Paul makes no mention of the decree of Acts 15. 29. But if the rebuke was later than the decree, one can readily understand that Paul might prefer to convince Peter of his mistaken step, both as a matter of courtesy and of effectiveness, on general religious principles rather than by simply pointing to the decree. (3) In his treatment of eating flesh offered to idols in 1 Cor. 8 and 10 Paul judges of the matter in a spirit more liberal than Acts 15. 29, referring it to each man's conscience, and apparently knowing nothing of the decree. But the decree was especially limited to Syria and adjacent regions (15. 23), not far from the sensitive atmosphere of Palestine; in points more remote, especially in Europe, Paul felt himself perfectly justified in looking at the matter from a larger point of view. (4) In 21. 25 James mentions the decree to Paul in a way which suggests that Paul never heard of it before. Is that so? Quite the contrary, it seems to me. Would such an important decree be referred to so casually, without any introduction or explanation, if it were unknown to Paul? So much for the objections. I cannot see that they overthrow the essential accuracy of Luke in Acts 15.

The rest of the New Testament need not detain us long. It had now been determined that Chris-

tianity should go its way among the Gentiles without being hampered by the ceremonial or national laws of Judaism, and that even for the pious Gentiles among the Jews Mosaism had passed. As I have said, this was no breach with Judaism as its noblest representatives viewed it, but was, rather, in the line of the prophets, of John the Baptist and of Christ. There were now Jewish Christian churches and Gentile churches, but between the two there was no conflict as to the heart of Christianity, namely, that salvation came through faith in Christ, Messiah, Redeemer, and Lord. Both held to the sacraments, both built on the Old Testament, both accepted as from God the great leaders of each. The Gentile church did not seek to force its ideas on the Jewish, or refuse fellowship with the circumcised, nor did the latter deny the Christian standing of the former. Of course it was inevitable that with the growth of the Church in the Roman world, with the increasing animosity of the Jews to the spreading "sect," ending in the final and total separation from the Christians after 70, and especially with the working of the leaven of the great principle accepted at the bottom by all—that men are justified not by works but by faith in Christ—it was inevitable, I say, that Jewish churches as such should entirely disappear. It was in the historical evolution that James the Just should decrease and Paul increase.

But this result was not yet. The extreme Jewish Christian party, which wanted everybody to come into Christianity through the Mosaic law, was not dead, and members of it made many bitter moments for Paul. In the Epistle to the Galatians especially the apostle gives them a Roland for an Oliver in fine style, vindicating forever the absolute freedom of the Gentiles from the Jewish law. Fearing their work also among the Romans, in whose society there were many Jewish believers, he makes the same plea in his epistle to them. But that does not mean that Paul had grown less catholic toward his own faith, for he never interfered with the Jewish part of the Church, being as loyal as they wished to the law, and himself at times assumed vows and made offerings at the temple (Acts 18. 18; 21. 23-26). And he ever retained a true patriot's pride in belonging to the greatest race and religion known in the history of the world (Rom. 9. 3-5), but it is one of the ironies of history that it was left to the chief man in that race to carry out the program of Christ, and emancipate his religion from the limitations of its birth and environment.

CHAPTER II

THE JEWISH CRISIS—THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE

THE fearful destruction of Jerusalem by the armies of Titus in A. D. 70 broke the spell which in an external way bound the Jewish Christians to Judaism. This was helped along by the rebellion under Bar-Kochba (A. D. 132-135), when the celebrated rabbi Akiba was acknowledged as Messiah. The name of Jerusalem was changed to Aelia Capitolina, heathen institutions and temples were introduced into it, Jews were forbidden to enter it (a law which was kept up for nearly two hundred years), and circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, and instruction in the law were prohibited. Strict watch was to be kept over all the important religious transactions of the Jews. Under this pressure Rabbi Akiba gathered an assembly of scribes and other learned men at Lydda, who passed a resolution to allow the people to overstep the law, except in idolatry, incest, and murder. In the reaction caused by this pagan persecution Judaism became hardened and self-centered, and under national and religious hate separated itself from anything like the free Greek culture embodied, for instance, by Philo. "Judaism became again Hebrew and fully Pharisaic—the religion of idolatry of the

letter; the Mosaic law ended in the Talmud and prophetism in the mythical number-play of the Cabbala."¹ Of course the Christians did not join in the rebellion of Bar-Kochba, for which refusal they were persecuted by the Jews. The Christians were looked upon as apostates, and a special form of curse was devised for them which was pronounced against them three times every Sabbath. To the distinguished rabbi Tarphan was ascribed the saying that a persecuted man might rather flee into an idol temple than into the houses of the Minim (Christians), because an idolater denies God, whom he knows not, while the Minim deny the known truth. Their books also should be burned, even though the name of God does occur in them. The Jews began to circulate calumniations against the Christians, and were the first, says Eusebius,² to carry wood to the stake where the latter were to be burned for their faith.

Before the destruction of Jerusalem the Jewish Christians retired to Pella, on the other side of the Jordan (compare Matt. 24. 15, 16). Some of them remained there. Others returned to the Holy Land, and even to Jerusalem. There James, the brother of Jesus, had already been slain by the Jews, whom he had striven so earnestly to conciliate by living as a devout Jew-

¹ Möller-von Schubert, *KG.*, 1902, vol. i, p. 103.

² *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4. 15, 29.

Christian—slain, according to Josephus,¹ by stoning by the Sanhedrin, according to Hegesippus (in Eusebius, 2. 23, 12ff.), a Christian historian of the second century, by being thrown from the pinnacle of the temple and later dispatched by a blow from a fuller's club when praying for his enemies (A. D. 62). After him other relatives of Jesus had a leading part in governing the Jerusalem church. There Simeon the son of Clophas, a cousin of Christ, stood till his martyr death under Trajan, and a later tradition even made him set in by the apostles themselves as the head of that society (3. 11). Also the grandsons of Jude, the brother of Jesus, were leaders (3. 20, 8), of whom the touching story is told by Hegesippus that they were brought before the Emperor Domitian (A. D. 81-96) as being descendants of David, were interrogated by him as to their possessions and as to the nature of the kingdom of the Messiah, and replied that their property was only thirty-nine acres, that the kingdom was a purely spiritual one, and that the Christ was to come at the end of the world to judge the living and the dead. They then showed their calloused hands as an evidence of their peasant origin and poverty, and were dismissed without being molested.

The two kinds of Jewish Christians shown by our New Testament sources continued on

¹ *Antiquities*, 20. 9, 1.

in post-apostolic times—the strict party, who wanted every one initiated into Judaism, and the liberals, who did not insist on this for the Gentiles. In Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, chapters 46, 47, written perhaps in A. D. 140-150, he discusses matters in this field. Trypho asks if a believer in Christ who wishes to live still as a strict Jew can be saved. Justin answers that (1) it is absolutely impossible now to observe all the laws of Moses, and (2) that there were some laws imposed for the hardness of the people's hearts, which laws now contribute nothing to the performance of righteousness and piety. Trypho then presses his question whether a Christian man who acknowledges all this and yet wishes to observe the institutions of the Jews can be saved. To this Justin replies: "Such an one will be saved if he does not strive in every way to persuade other men—I mean those Gentiles who have been circumcised from error by Christ—to observe the same things as himself, telling them that they will not be saved unless they do so." Justin goes on to say that there are persons who take that narrow view, but there are others who wish for themselves "to observe the institutions given by Moses," but do not insist that other Christians should be circumcised, keep the Sabbath, or "observe other such ceremonies"; with these, says Justin, we ought to join ourselves and hold them as kinsmen and brothers. As to

the strict party he does not definitely pronounce whether they will be saved or not, though he acknowledges that those whom they have persuaded to take up Mosaism along with "their confession of God in Christ" shall probably be saved. Those, however, who have given up their Christian confession for Judaism, and "have repented not before death," shall not be saved, much less regular Jews and especially those Jews who anathematize Christ in the synagogues—certainly an instructive and striking judgment.

The discrimination of Justin is hardly illustrated in his earlier contemporary Ignatius (110-117), who roundly rejects any Judaizing. "Be not seduced," he cries out, "by strange doctrines nor by old profitless fables. For if even unto this day we live after the manner of Judaism, we own that we have not received grace; for the divine prophets [that is, Christian prophets] lived after [in accordance with, *κατὰ*] Christ." Ignatius then points to a break with Judaism: Those who "had walked in ancient practices have attained unto newness of hope, no longer observing Sabbaths, but living according to the Lord's [day]." Put away then the vile leaven which is sour, and betake yourselves to the new leaven which is Christ. For "it is monstrous to speak Jesus Christ and practice Judaism, for Christianity did not believe on Judaism, but Judaism on Christianity, which every tongue believing

was gathered unto God.”¹ Also in his epistle to the Philadelphians (§ 6) he shows little patience with Judaism. “If any interpret to you Judaism, hearken not to him, for it is better to hear Christianity from a circumcised man than Judaism from an uncircumcised.” Farther on he speaks of them who say, “If I do not find it in the archives [*ἀρχαίοις*, probably the Old Testament], I do not believe in the gospel.” To them Ignatius answers, “It is written”; that is, it is really in the Old Testament. They reply, “That is the question.” But Ignatius bursts out: “But to me Jesus Christ is archives. His cross and death and his resurrection and the faith that is through him are the inviolable archives.” Perhaps Ignatius is not to be interpreted as denying all right of Jewish Christians to observe their law, but, rather, is thinking of a degenerate Judaism and of a forcing it on others. But his peremptory anti-Jewish tone showed that he wanted no domination of the Christian conscience by Jew or Jewish Christian.

More remarkable still is the strange so-called epistle of Barnabas, the date of which no one knows (70-138), but the place of which is perhaps Alexandria. It reveals a lack of appreciation of Judaism truly colossal, a most inverted and perverted conception of its meaning and historical place. That whole magnificent revela-

¹ *Ad Mag.*, sections 8-10.

tion is an error and impertinence, and God's covenant in the Old Testament did not apply to Jews at all, but to Christians. The author had no historical sympathy or breadth of view, but by a "grotesque and bald typology" he sacrifices the mighty literature of the Old Testament or makes it into a mere "fantastic forestallment of the New." It is singular that such a narrow and unhistoric view should have sprung from the cultured circles of Alexandria, but it shows that then, as now, there were those who had no appreciation of the divine call of Israel and of its place in the purposes of God. But it was in this very Alexandria where Krüger¹ thinks the book was written, that Clement looked up to the epistle of Barnabas as a sacred writing, the work of the apostle Barnabas,² and that Origen called it a "catholic epistle"³ and apparently esteemed it highly—which shows that Christian culture is not infallible. But from these three sources—Ignatius, Barnabas, and Justin Martyr—we see how an atmosphere was being created in which Jewish Christianity simply could not live.

It may be that this pronounced hostility to Judaism was partly responsible for the increased departure of the strict Jewish Christians from the apostolic norm of teaching, or, vice versa, the

¹ *History of Early Christian Literature*, tr. 1897, p. 20.

² *Stromata*, 2. 6; 2. 20.

³ *Contra Celsum*, 1. 63

departure may have accentuated the hostility. At any rate, the cleft was becoming deep and wide. Cerinthus is an illustration. If we follow the oldest authority, Irenæus (about A. D. 170), we have the famous story,¹ on the authority of Polycarp, that once John found himself in a bath house in Ephesus with Cerinthus, and immediately rushed out without bathing, crying out, "Let us fly, lest even the bath house fall down, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within." This reminds us of John's own words (2 John 10, 11). Certainly, Cerinthus was heretical enough. The earth was made by a subordinate power, who knew not the supreme God. Jesus was not born of a virgin, but by the ordinary laws of generation, though he was more righteous, wise, and prudent than other men. After his baptism Christ descended upon Jesus in the form of a dove, and the latter then proclaimed the unknown Father, and performed miracles. At last Christ departed from Jesus, who then suffered and rose again, for Christ could not suffer, as he was spiritual being.² Certainly, such a formidable departure from original Christianity as that might well arouse the animosity of the orthodox.

By and by the members of this extreme Jewish party, cut off from the correcting influence of the body of believers, with whom the Spirit of Truth

¹ *Adversus Hæreses*, 3. 3.

² *Irenæus*, 1. 26.

dwells, if anywhere, became a sect—the Ebionites, or Humble, or Poor Ones (compare the Friars Minor, the Franciscans). They held¹ that the world was created by the true God, but in regard to Jesus Christ they agreed with Cerinthus. They used the Gospel of Matthew only, repudiating Paul as an apostate from the law. They had their own interpretation of the prophets, practiced circumcision, observed the law, and were so thoroughly Jewish that they adored Jerusalem as if it were the house of God. From such circles as these sprang the Syriac text of the Gospels found on Sinai in 1892, which in Matthew omits the virgin birth of Jesus. They endured until the fifth century, shading off into different varieties, one of which² reacted toward a more Christian view, as they acknowledged Paul as an apostle to the Gentiles and received the virgin birth.

Into another Jewish-Christian party heathen influences poured. I refer to the Elkesaites, who played a part in the second and third centuries. They held to circumcision and the Sabbath, to repeated washings, to which a magical cleansing and reconciling meaning was ascribed, to oath-formulas, to magic and astrology, and to Jesus as the Messiah. They baptized for the forgive-

¹ *Irenæus*, 1. 26, 2.

² According to Jerome, *Epistle*, 112, § 13, who found them in Palestine.

ness of sins in the name of the Great and High God and his Son, the Great King, the Messiah, and saw in Jesus an incarnation of the ideal Adam, or First Man, whom they also called the highest archangel—perhaps an attempt to conceive Christianity as a special revelation and yet as identical with Judaism.

Finally we are brought to those perplexing romances, the so-called Clementines, the Homilies, and Recognitions, which in their present form probably arose in Rome in the beginning of the third century, and which were founded, it is believed by critics, on an older Gnostic Ebionitic original, the Homilies being worked up into a polemic against Marcion's views, and the Recognitions independently into a more definitely Christian book, and both having a kinship to the Antipauline Gnostic Acts of Paul.¹ The universality of Christianity is acknowledged, but looked upon as merely a restoration of pure Mosaism. For Gentile Christians baptism takes the place of circumcision. Religious washings are held and abstinence from flesh. Pure religion was revealed in Adam, who is looked upon as the representative of the ideal sinless First Man, or of the Holy Spirit of Christ, who appears under different names in different periods, until he finally appears in Christ and makes the

¹ Möller-von Schubert, *KG.*, vol. 1, p. 111, whose exposition follows.

primitive pure religion universal. He was especially in Moses, whose religion became perverted, but was renewed in its purity by Christ. Through the whole Clementines there breathes a religious philosophical theory, which though it wants to exclude Gnosticism proper, yet makes concessions to it, and so is a "Gnostic" Ebionism. While Jewish monotheism is strictly maintained, a cosmological theory is developed in which Stoic influences play: origin of the world by a transformation of the divine substance, in which also the coming of evil is conceivable, without a special dualism. Mutually connected oppositions (syzygies) are bound up with the entire world development, which have their origin in the opposition between the devil and the Son of God. The Clementines are the attempt to naturalize conceptions like these among regular Christians.

Thus Jewish Christianity—neither one thing nor the other—ran itself out in thin vanishing lines, until it reappeared in another shape in world-significant movements which sprang from Mani and Mohammed.

CHAPTER III

THE Gnostic CRISIS: OR, SHALL CHRISTIANITY BE TRANSFORMED INTO AN ORIENTAL THEOSOPHIC CULT OR CHRIS- TIAN SCIENCE?

THERE were principles of Christianity which, if pressed in a one-sided way, might lead to openings for Gnosticism (*gnosis*, knowledge). The idea of different grades of Christian attainment was at home in Christianity: the mystery which only the perfect could know,¹ the enlightenment which God pours into the minds of his elect so that they know all things,² the special blessing of those deep in the love of God—"unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding,"³ and the gracious gift of God—to one the word of wisdom through the Spirit, and to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit.⁴ Grades of knowledge were reflected even in the New Testament literature: in the simple narratives of the first three Gospels, in the Epistles of Paul, opening here and there vistas into profound truth, and finally in the wonderful Gospel of John, which is like a landscape, now charming in its quiet beauty and then

¹ 1 Cor. 2. 6, 7; 3. 1, 2.

² 1 John 2. 20, 21.

³ Col. 2. 2.

⁴ 1 Cor. 12. 8.

piercing the sky with its peaks, or revealing unfathomed depths.

Looking beyond Christianity for the working of that strange, multiform, many-colored thing we call Gnosticism, it meets us nearest, perhaps, in Philo, the philosophic Jew of Alexandria, who was a young man when Christ was born. To him the higher knowledge (*gnosis*) was directed to piercing into the alleged deeper meaning of the history, myths, mysteries, and doctrines of religion. This seemed an innocent proceeding, but it had in it elements of mischief. The same tendency was illustrated in Christian writers—the uncovering of the deeper sense of Scripture by allegory, “that you might have your knowledge perfect,” says Barnabas (§ 1), which he helps forward by a perfectly luxuriant allegorizing of Old Testament laws and facts. Clement of Rome does the same to a less degree to buttress his ideas of church order (§§ 40, 43, etc.), and Justin Martyr explains the nobler meanings of the commonplace passages of the Old Testament.¹ It was the custom—as with the Stoics, Plutarch, etc.—in the Hellenic world to seek under the hull of the myths and mysteries the deeper religious or philosophical meanings. There was also the inclination to discover the same religious ideas in different mythological forms and cults, to adopt or mix the same from

¹ *Contra Tryphonem*, §§ 111–113, etc.

these various sources (syncretism), and especially to study the Oriental cults which seemed to come to them in the light, or with the claim, of the original revelation. Thus all these fantastic ideas of the East were brought into the West and got mixed with the whole movement of Western thought. In this religious ferment Christianity also worked with its doctrine of redemption and of the world, and though it made the claim of having absolute validity, it yet united to itself the most different religious views, transforming them and being itself transformed.¹

What were some of the elements of this Gnostic ferment? Syrophœnician cosmogony and the astrology and magic of the Orient. Man and all the lesser spheres of creation were under the influence of the stars or heavens, which were thought of as higher spirits standing near to God and ruling the world. Redemption was conceived as freeing man from the pressure and power of finiteness, in which these heavenly powers wish to keep fast the soul. There was also the idea of middle beings, angels, etc., as mediating God; behind whom God disappears—an idea which some think came in from such semi-Jewish sects as the Essenes, Samaritans, etc. Then there were borrowings from the Greek, Pythagorean, Philonic, and Stoic philosophies,

¹ See Möller-von Schubert, *KG.*, vol. I, pp. 138ff. (1902).

and finally Christianity itself conceived as a religion of world-redemption. There was, of course, a practical side to all this, a religion of the dedicated, the perfect, an esoteric society, which looks upon religion as a secret mysterious cult in which the members were the select initiated, with higher knowledge (compare the desire "to know" as a motive in the liturgies of some secret orders), perhaps reminding us of the "knowledge falsely so called"¹ of those who creep into houses and with specious boasting of superior knowledge lead away silly women and others equally weak minded.²

(The success of these apostles of the Higher Science was due in part to the unorganized character of the early Church, the lack of responsible officers and teachers, the freedom of speaking in the congregation, the lack of well-defined boundaries of worship, creed, and structure, and the Church's open and frank attitude toward the Spirit, the giver of new truth—what Germans call the "enthusiastic" character of early Christianity.) There were prophets who spoke under divine afflatus; there were speakers with tongues; healers, and those possessed of other heavenly powers. The Gnostics took hold of these helps to their propaganda, exploited to their own taste both the Old Testament and the literature of the apostles, added to or took away arbitrarily from

¹ 1 Tim. 6. 20.

² 2 Tim. 3. 6ff.

this literature,¹ and, in the absence of authoritative norms of doctrine and of fact, the poor believers were the footballs of these "knowing" ones, and were in danger of losing all real hold on their faith. The very historical ground of Christianity was in danger of being dissolved from under the feet of Christians, and they foisted away into a fog of hollow speculation. A crisis indeed had come.

How grave that crisis was may be seen by a little attention to the nature of this so-called Christian Knowledge, or Science, of the first, second, and third centuries. (1) Christianity, which was originally a practical doctrine of salvation through faith and love, becomes a speculative religious theory or science of the universe, a knowledge of the world-process, which knowledge leads to redemption of the spirit.² (2) The creator of the world and its lawgiver is separated from the highest God, and various emanations go out from the original divine foundation, the highest God being too glorious to mix himself directly with lesser things. The fall of man itself is such a mixing of the spirit with matter, worked by lower ungodly powers, who may have had to do with present appearance and conditions of the earth and world.³ (3) Redemption, or the freedom of man's spirit, is accomplished by

¹ Rev. 22. 18, 19.

² Compare Christian Science.

³ Compare Eph. 6. 12, R. V.

dissolution of the world, by overcoming cosmic powers, and emancipating the spirit from matter.

(4) A dualistic trait runs through the whole system, though in various degrees, sometimes going so far as two original principles, or Gods, and then fading away into a kind of pantheism.

(5) The purely religious oppositions between the world and the kingdom of God, between flesh and spirit, are enlarged into oppositions of cosmic powers, and thus drawn out of the ethical, where only they have any bearing and sense, into the physical. (6) Christ is placed in the turning point of the religious history of man, who is lifted up also as the turning point of the whole cosmic development. Christ means the coming in and revealing of the divine spiritual principle in the visible world, the revelation of the hitherto concealed God, and with this the outgoing of a new life for all who take hold of this revelation and understand it, and subject themselves to the necessary ascetic and secret conditions.¹

(7) A word further as to Christ. As the Godhead unfolds himself in different divine potencies, or æons, so Christ is thought of as appearing in the world as one of these potencies, or shining out from a mixture of them. But Christ as a heavenly and redeeming potency is always to be distinguished from his visible appearance, which latter is to be considered either as a real man

¹ Compare Christian Science.

who bears for the time the heavenly Christ, or as only a psychical or spiritual (not material) formation or image, or as simply an appearance.¹

(8) Who are the saved? Here we must distinguish the pneumatics, or spiritual, who are able to receive the divine life and the revelation of the Spirit, and the hylics, or material, who are irrecoverably fallen. Some Gnostics define also the psychics, who are incapable of the proper revelation of the Spirit, but who are able by faith to come to a certain knowledge of the divine, and to a corresponding blessedness. (9) Over against the realistic view of early Christianity as to the visible return of Christ, the resurrection of the body, and the glorious kingdom of Christ, the Gnostics taught the opposite. The end is the freeing the spirit from sensuousness and the pain of finiteness.² (10) Finally, Gnostic ethics, as may be imagined, is purely dualistic. The opposition between matter and spirit is conceived absolutely, not relatively or morally, as in Christianity. It receives a metaphysical foundation, and, as in Christian Science, is erected into a fundamental principle. There was a healthy ascetic strain among the first Christians, a voluntary self-denial under special circumstances for a higher good,³ illustrated, for instance, in later

¹ Docetism: compare Christian Science's conception of matter.

² Compare Hinduism.

³ Matt. 19. 12; 1 Cor. 7. 7, 8, 26, 29-31; 9. 25-27.

Church history in the wise resolution of Bishop Asbury to remain single. But this asceticism for moral ends was changed in Gnosticism into an asceticism involved in its basic ideas, metaphysically grounded, and driven to its highest point.¹ But another side to this asceticism was moral looseness; for the spirit only being essential, the ordinary external things of life were indifferent, whence libertinism or antinomianism.

From the above statement the reader can see that there is some truth in Harnack's speaking of Gnosticism as the acute secularizing or Hellenizing of Christianity.² It might better be called the Hellenizing of Eastern theosophies, with the transfusion of Christian elements and those elements perverted in the process. Professor W. Walther is right when he says³ that Gnosticism is a development on heathen ground, "not a Hellenizing of the gospel, but a stealing of some Christian rags to cover heathen nakedness." Seeberg is better still when he says⁴ that Gnosticism "sought to elevate Christianity to the position of the universal religion by combining in it all the tendencies and energies of the age and thus adapting it to the comprehension of all and satisfying the needs of all. Thus revelation was

¹ Compare Hinduism and Buddhism.

² *History of Dogma*, vol. i, pp. 222, 230, note.

³ *Theologisches Literatur-Blatt*, 1898, col. 228.

⁴ *History of Doctrine*, vol. i, pp. 94, 100, 101.

to be combined with the wisdom of the world, and Christianity by this means became a universal religion. It was the first attempt in the history of the Church to bring the world into subjection to the Church by interpreting Christianity in harmony with the wisdom of the world. Under the conditions then existing this attempt appeared to be assured of success, and it seemed to oppose to the Gospel of the Church a tremendous combination of forces. . . . Gnosticism is not merely Gentile Christian in character, but essentially heathenish. The fundamental problem to which it addresses itself originates in the religious thought of the heathen world, as well as the means employed in the solution of the problem. Its character is not altered by the fact that it applies the instruments of Christian and Jewish tradition to the problem in hand. . . . It is misleading to speak of it as the acute Hellenizing of Christianity, or to say with Harnack that its leaders were the first Christian theologians." Some systems had Hellenistic elements, notably that of Valentine, but, "judged as a historical phenomenon, Gnosticism was the attempt to establish the universal religion, in which the religious problems of the educated world in that age should be answered by means of the ancient Oriental mythology and magic," with the addition of Christian ideas. "We may, accordingly, instead of Hellenizing, speak, rather, of an ethni-

cizing of the gospel." And "ethnicizing" here really means heathenizing.

Especially in the system of Marcion (flourished A. D. 155) did Gnosticism present itself to the Church in a fascinating light, as though it would deceive the very elect, reminding us in its subtly dangerous appeal to the susceptibilities of the half-instructed Christians of that day of the modern Marcions (*mutatis mutandis*)—the "advanced" theologians of the present. The God of the Old Testament, of the creation and of the law, appeared to him as the hard, "just," passionately angry God, finding pleasure in war, childish in his measures, and contradictory in his conclusions, for he feels penitence, the creator of a by no means perfect world ("without doubt a grand work and a world worthy of God," was the sarcasm of the Marcionists), and also the bringer in of evil ("I am he that creates evil," he says himself in the Old Testament). Unless you explain the Old Testament allegorically, there is in it no trace of the God of love. Nevertheless, said Marcion, the God of the Old Testament is not the principle of evil over against the good highest God, but only a lesser, limited God, the world-ruler. But he stands in close relation with the hyle, or matter (conceived as a principle or personfication), out of which he built the world. Over both is the highest good God, secret, hidden, resting in everlasting inac-

tivity,¹ who has a higher heavenly world around and under him. Suddenly the good God sends his Son Christ in a counterfeit or seeming body, who appeared in the time of Pilate in Judæa, revealed God, and authenticated himself by miracles. As he did away with the law and prophets and all the works of the world-creator, he was crucified by the princes of this world,² the angel powers of the creator, which crucifixion, however, did not harm him, on account of the unreality of his body. He proclaimed the religion of love and of freedom from the law of the creator, though not in a libertine sense. The faithful to whom the good God is revealed must abstain as far as possible from the pleasures and goods of this world, especially from sexual intercourse and the use of flesh, for the body has no part in salvation. As everything rests upon faith in the divine love, Cain and the evildoers of the Old Testament, as well as all heathen, are saved by the Redeemer descending to Hades, as they all turn to him with longing, while the pious of the Old Testament have no trust in the proclamation and remain in Hades.

As all this was contrary to the gospel the Church had received, Marcion had to sift the tradition, and he did this with a vengeance. He claimed that the Judaizers had falsified the gos-

¹ Compare the religions of India.

² 1 Cor. 2. 8.

pel from the beginning, the only genuine written remains of which were the ten epistles of Paul (omitting the pastoral epistles) and the Gospel of Luke, but these only in an amended form.

From this the reader will hardly be prepared for Lipsius's favorable description of Marcionism as the Protestantism of the ancient Church, for the reason that Protestantism proclaimed fundamental Christianity, while Marcionism proclaimed fundamental heathenism with Christian elements. But it proclaimed its message with such wise adjustment to the spirit of the times, and with such plausibility to those who were ignorant of the true nature of the Old Testament, that it had a wide vogue. By the time of Epiphanius (close of fourth century) it had spread from Persia to Italy, from Pontus to Upper Egypt. It came into sympathetic contact with the mighty movement of Manicheism, and, according to some, formed the basis of the Paulician Church of the seventh century.

How was Gnosticism overcome? (1) By direct refutations by the Church fathers. It prompted theological defense and thus gave birth to Christian theology. The fathers whetted their dialectic on the Gnostic grindstone. Think of the noble vindications of Christian truth by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus—a challenge to the modern minister to a like battle for the faith against present-day

errors. (2) The lack of a brief ready confession of the faith made it easy for the Gnostics to win converts from the ignorant. To gather up the apostolic faith in a few short statements, to express the fundamental facts of the life of Christ over against Gnostic evaporation—this was a need everywhere felt, and it led, consciously or unconsciously, to the Rule of Faith—little statements of the main things believed by Christians, which, helped along by baptismal formulas, by catechetical needs, issued in the later creeds. I do not mean that there were not such statements in some churches earlier than the Gnostic propaganda, and independent of it; but there can be no doubt that the latter helped along the preparation and use of creeds and their elevation to Rules of Faith. What gave distinct occasion to the Christian society at Rome to make its symbol a creed or rule, says Kattenbusch,¹ was Gnosticism and Marcionism. “The error of these movements was, of course, in many points perceived. But they were found chiefly in contradiction with the symbol, the solemn sum of the faith, which could not be very well first formed under the title of a ‘sanctuary’ (or holy relic—Heil-tums), but very soon became such. It was a natural growth when the sacramentum of faith became a wall against *gnosis* and Marcion.” (3) Another weapon was the New Testament ration-

¹ *Das Apostolische Symbol*, vol. ii (1900), pp. 82, 83.

ally interpreted, and especially the fixing of the limits of that Testament over against the swarm of false Gospels, Acts, and Epistles put out by the errorists, and sometimes—truth to tell—exploited by the Church (though this last not always done deliberately from a known false book). One of these was the Gospel of Peter, fragments of which were found by the French diggers in Akhmin, Upper Egypt, in the winter of 1886-7 and first published in Paris in 1892 by Bouriant, the director of the French Archæological Institute in Cairo, as a part of the ninth volume of the *Mémoires* of that Institute (editions by various scholars in 1893), and which made such a noise at the time. It is a mild, Gnostic (Docetic) Gospel written in Syria after the middle of the second century. But to find out for a certainty what the New Testament was, and rightly explain it, was a task thrown upon the Christians by the Gnostics. It is an ill wind that blows no one any good.

But, besides all these things, Gnosticism was overcome by absorption, not simply individual Gnostics won back into the Church, but their views, methods, etc., taken up by the Church. Their mystery cults influenced the Catholic baptism and Lord's Supper; their philosophy as to the hidden God and the intermediate beings between him and man reacted on the Catholic conception of the awful and infinite One who better

be approached through saints, angels, and especially the Virgin Mary; their division of men into pneumatic or spiritual, psychic, and hylic, and their call of the former to abstinence and a lofty, self-denying holiness, worked on Catholic Christianity with mighty force, and helped to produce monasticism and many practical phases of the ancient and mediæval Church, which are still in evidence on every hand. Then there was an approach to the Church on the part of some Gnostics, as, for instance, Apelles, who said¹ that "those who trusted in the Crucified would be saved, if only they were found doing good works," and also that Christ had an actual body and one that could suffer, though a heavenly one. The Docetists, described by Hippolytus,² could hardly be distinguished from the Church in several of their teachings. It is remarkable also that Tatian (flourished A. D. 160) even after he became a Gnostic (Encratite) enjoyed high honor in the Church. This is shown by the wide acceptance of his Gospel Harmony, or Diateseron, a blending together in a united story (in Syriac) of our four Gospels, beginning with the first verses of John, but omitting the genealogies in Matthew and Luke and every other passage which shows that the Lord sprang according to the flesh from the seed of David, and occasionally

¹ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5. 13, 5.

² *Philosophumena*, 8. 8ff.

incorporating passages not in our Gospels. In the east Syrian Church this Harmony was in favor till the fourth century, suppressed first in the fifth. In the former century the great Church doctor Ephraem wrote a commentary on it, though without mentioning the name of Tatian, copying the most of it in his book. That commentary was translated into Armenian in the next century, lay in Armenian manuscripts until 1836, when it was published by the Mechitarist Armenian monks of San Lazzaro, Venice, translated into Latin by one of them, Father Aucher, in 1841, but not published, and this translation revised and edited and published at Venice in 1876 by Moesinger, one of the theological professors in the Roman Catholic university at Salzburg. It is singular that the significance of this unexpected recovery of a gospel harmony which reaches back to less than a life time of the death of the apostle John escaped the tireless ever-searching eyes of German scholars, the first notice of it being a passing one-line reference of Nestle in the *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, 1878 (December 7), col. 607.

An American has the honor of being the first to call the attention of the learned world to this priceless possession—Professor Ezra Abbot (died 1884), in his *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel: External Evidences* (Boston, 1880, pp. 52-56). In 1881 Zahn reconstructed the text

with fine skill, and in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* for February, 1881 (vol. iv, Heft 4, pp. 471-505), Harnack presents an exhaustive study of it, using Moesinger only, written independently of Abbot and Zahn. It seems to bring those old Gnostics home to us to have one of them who was active A. D. 130-170 construct for us the first gospel harmony ever produced, in which the Gospel of John is used as a book everywhere acknowledged as divine, on a perfect level with Mark and Matthew—this Gospel which Baur said never existed till after A. D. 150.

On the other hand, speaking of the absorption of Gnostic ideas and usages by the Church, we must not lay too much weight there. For instance, Augustine did not get his doctrine of the will and of predestination from the Gnostics or Manicheans, but from a perverted understanding of Paul. But the second and third century fathers bitterly opposed the Gnostic denial of free will. As Harnack says,¹ Gnosticism “was wrecked in the Church on free will, the Old Testament, and eschatology.” That man is free and responsible, that the Old Testament is from the supreme God, who is also the Creator, that the body is sacred and is to be raised at the last day, and that Christ, who came in actual flesh once, is to come again in power at the end—these were some of the precious possessions of the early

¹ *History of Dogma*, vol. i, p. 260, note.

Church which were so firmly a part of her very being that with them she overcame the Gnostic peril. Gnostics used the term "of the same substance" (*ὁμοούσιος*) of Christ in relation to God, just as the Church came to use it later, and they sometimes seem to identify Christ with God, but that does not mean, as Harnack thinks it does,¹ that the Church "learned very much in Christology" from them, or that they had a "mighty influence on the later Church development of Christology." At the bottom their doctrine of Christ was at an infinite remove from that of the Church, and their idea of "two natures" had nothing in common with the idea of the Church. The absolutely genuine human nature of Christ, who was linked, nevertheless, in indissoluble union with the Father—that was the inexpugnable conviction of primitive Christianity, and on that rock the fantastic theories of Gnosticism, however some of these were refined and Christianized by noble and holy men who were "not far from the kingdom," broke in vain.

¹ *History of Dogma*, vol. i, p. 259, note.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONTANIST CRISIS: OR, IS CHRISTIANITY A PROGRESSIVE RELIGION?

THERE were some characteristics of primitive Christianity which, as they have passed away or changed their form, are apt to be slurred over by present-day readers. One of these was prophecy, the speaking or writing under the immediate divine afflatus, under the special (whether miraculous or not we need not inquire) inspiration of the Holy Spirit, so that the product was directly from God. This was a tremendous force in early Christianity. Nearly every congregation had its prophets, both men and women, held in high honor, whose words were listened to as the very word of God. For a hundred years or so after the founding of the Church on the day of Pentecost there was not a breath of suspicion but that this mighty class of workers had a permanent function in the Church, the only question being that of preventing the abuse of that function, and guarding the office from unworthy men, who would selfishly exploit their high reputation. For instance, as late as perhaps A. D. 125 the Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, in laying down rules for the government of the Church, couples apostles and prophets together

as men of equal honor (11. 3). It says that every prophet who speaks in the Spirit shall not be proved; that is, no one shall sit in judgment merely on the contents of the prophet's message, as that would be an unforgivable sin. All that is allowed is to judge the prophet's conduct, and from that to receive or reject him. If he orders a table (that is, either an ordinary dinner or a eucharistic meal) in the Spirit and eats of it, he is no true prophet. If he performs a "cosmic mystery" for the Church—probably some striking symbolical act of deep mystical significance—and does not teach others to do the same thing, he shall not be judged. If he asks for money, however, he is to be instantly rejected, though if he asks for the poor no one is to judge him (11. 7-12). If he desires to settle among you, see that he gets support; in fact, you shall give the prophets the first fruits of your produce, for they are your chief priests (which last word is not to be interpreted in a sacerdotal sense, which was a later development; what is meant is, they are the chief of those who receive and offer your gifts, and present the prayers of the society to God; the prophets were not ordained, being, from the modern point of view, laymen). If you have no prophet, give to the poor (13. 1, 3, 4)—a recommendation which points to a time when the prophets were not in every society, were apparently not as numerous

as formerly, but were giving away to the regular Church officers, in whose interest it was to shove them to one side and hurry their extinction. In the eucharistic dinners certain prayers are given which the congregation may use, but the reservation is distinctly made that the prophets are not at all bound by such forms, "but may give thanks as much as (in what words, *ὅσα*) they wish" (10. 7). As Harnack well says,¹ in this document the "prophets are the virtuosi of the eucharistic prayer."

Another peculiarity of ancient Christianity which largely passed away even in the second century was ecstatic utterance. Prophets and others would give forth revelations or other religious communications in a rapt, semiconscious state, as though the soul were borne out of itself, as though the words came from the inner deeps impelled by a higher power. Of course it was not meant that the speaker was in a trance or unconscious, but his utterance was involuntary in the sense of not only not being premeditated but not being the result of reflection or conscious intellectual effort. Prophets, as a rule, both in apostolic and post-apostolic times spoke in this way, and when we read of "speaking in the Spirit" it refers to ecstatic utterance. In this chill age of intellectual pride and aloofness we

¹ In his edition of the *Didache* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, ii. I), 1884, p. 37.

must not assume that there were not real communications from God in these states. It might easily happen that men who stood in a frank and cordial attitude to the eternal Truth pressing in on them from all sides, at a time when the control of the mental processes had not reached a science, when the spiritual atmosphere charged to the utmost with religious forces playing on souls sensitive, eager, expectant, full of faith and hope—it might easily happen, I say, that believers naturally endowed with a *semiclairvoyant* nature, who saw more things than were dreamed of by the philosophy of skeptics, were carried out of themselves by the Spirit Divine, and in a half-conscious state gave forth messages from God.

Ye could not read the marvel in his eye,
The still serene abstraction; he hath felt
The vanities of after and before. . . .
He often lying broad awake, and yet
Remaining from the body, and apart
In intellect and power and will, hath heard
Time flowing in the middle of the night,
And all things creeping to a day of doom.

The early Church was also filled with an enthusiastic belief in the near end of the world and the coming of Christ to set up his kingdom with power and glory. Hardly anything separates more deeply the spiritual feeling of the first and second century Christian from that of the modern than this cleft. The former really believed that his Lord would return any day and

was looking for it, just as we expect a returning friend, while the latter, with rare exceptions, does not believe that Christ is to return at all, or only spiritually and in historical crises; or he places his return at the end of the natural life history of this globe, which end, according to scientists, though it is bound to come, will not take place for some millions of years. In the first Church the second coming of Christ was a living reality of faith; that is, among the devout. Of course there were doubters (2 Pet. 3. 4), but they did not affect the general run.

This faith naturally led to self-denials, to ascetic and strenuous achievements in piety and prayer, in life and thought, of which the ancient literature gives us a glimpse now and then. Paul's example was followed by others, in the midst of a corrupt, decaying, persecuting world, at whose door the Christ was standing! As the second century wore away and there were no signs of his coming, expectancy naturally relaxed, and with that, Church discipline, and with that, morals. While those who had lapsed from the Church on account of the persecution, or other mortal sins, had not been received in again, even though penitent, because their case might soon be taken up by the Great Judge, now that the hope of his coming was growing weak, they were taken back into membership with but light penances. No doubt it is easy to exaggerate the

so-called "enthusiasm" of the early Church, the strained and lofty devotion, the indifference to civic duties, the ever looking into the heavens for the descent of the Son of man, the praying without ceasing, because there is evidence that the Christians then were not so vastly different from what they are to-day. They bought and sold, they married and were given in marriage, they entered into heathen amusements and heathen society, and those of superabundant faith and love were in a minority then, as they have always been. But at the same time it is true that in the first Church the belief in the approaching end gave a spiritual tone, an other-worldliness, and in some cases an ascetic self-discipline, which perished with the loss of that faith. "For we have not here an abiding city," was their cry, "but we seek after the city which is to come" (Heb. 13. 14). Every day that the coming was delayed seemed a call for patience, like a mother who is worn out waiting for her boy. "For ye have need of patience, that, having done the will of God, ye may receive the promise. For yet a very little while, he that cometh shall come, and shall not tarry" (Heb. 10. 36, 37). Therefore do not encumber yourselves with earthly affairs, but lay up your treasures above. "You know that you servants of God dwell in a foreign land, for your city is far from this city. If, then, you know the city where you are to dwell, why pro-

vide yourselves here with fields and expensive luxuries and buildings and chambers to no purpose? He who makes such provision for this city has no mind for his own city. . . . So beware that you serve God and have him in your heart; perform his works, mindful of his commandments and of the promises he has made, in the faith that he will perform the latter if the former be observed. Instead of fields, then, buy souls in trouble; visit widows and orphans; expend on such fields and houses [the poor] which God has given to you your wealth and all your pains.”¹ “From the very first,” says Harnack, “morality was inculcated within the Christian churches in two ways—by the spirit of Christ and by the conception of judgment and recompense. Both were marked by a decided bent to the future, for the Christ of both was he who was to return. To the mind of primitive Christianity the ‘present’ and the ‘future’ were sharply opposed to each other and it was their opposition which furnished the principle of self-control with its most powerful motive. It became, indeed, with many a sort of glowing passion. The Church which prayed at every service, ‘May grace come, and this world pass away: *maranatha*’ [Our Lord is come, or, Our Lord is coming] was the Church which gave directions like those we read in the opening parable of Hermas. ‘From the lips of

¹ Hermas, perhaps A. D. 150, *Shepherd*, Sim. 1.

all Christians this word is to be heard : The world is crucified to me and I to the world.' ”¹

Now these things were the historical background of Montanism. A change was coming over the Christian Church of the second century, and by A. D. 150 that change was sufficiently marked to cause alarm to serious men. The regular Church officers were magnifying their positions, and whenever possible taking the places of the prophets in honor and influence. Especially was this true of the bishops, whose office in the ancient and mediæval Church was so frequently associated with unchristian ambitions and ideas. They were the “sane,” “sound” men, who could be trusted to steer the bark of the Church through troublous waters, while the prophets were so open to the influences of the Spirit, to promptings from eerie voices from the other world, that they were removed from that administrative region where good judgment was essential, a region which circumstances were ever making more important. The communications given in ecstasy—if they were intelligible—had to be judged (even when in theory the people were not allowed to judge them, their being accepted meant a process of discrimination), and if they were not intelligible they were useless. Ecstatic utterance was going out of favor. The writings

¹ Celsus, A. D. 177–180; cited by Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 5. 64; Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, vol. i (1904), pp. 117, 118.

of the apostles were taking the place of the chance teachings of the prophets; of course not entirely, for the prophets lived on for some time yet, but that was the tendency. Besides, the expectation of the end was partially dying out, and Christians generally began to build upon a longer endurance of the world. So there came a loss of the old self-sacrificing devotion, and worldliness and vice crept into the Church. Not that these did not exist before, but on account of the postponement of the Parousia, or second coming, there came a widely diffused lowering of spiritual tone, which men viewed with alarm.

Montanus, the Phrygian Christian prophet, stepped upon the stage about A. D. 155. It was fitting that the conflict between the new and old ideals should be fought first in Asia Minor. In the second century Christianity and Christian thought was nowhere so active, so expansive as there. There the first great theologians and ecclesiastics were born; there all the first controversies were precipitated; there the Easter question came out; there men brooded over the Logos, the Word, and the relation of the Christ to the Father; there the office of bishop as distinct from presbyter first developed; there the prophets were most active; there first the bishops tried to supersede them; and it was natural that just there the Montanist crisis should come to a head. To all this persecution helped. Since

about A. D. 150 it grew ever more widely, and persecution always sharpens opposition to the world. It generally enhances also the expectation of the end and gives a background for prophetic or similar voices.

It has been claimed by some that old heathen Phrygia had something to do with explaining Montanism—certain religious and social characteristics which stamped themselves on the Christianity of that region. “In the nature religion of the ancient Phrygians,” says Neander,¹ “we recognize the character of this mountain race, inclined to fanaticism and superstition, easily credulous about magic and ecstatic transports; and we cannot be surprised to find the Phrygian temperament, which displayed itself in the ecstasies of the priests of Cybele and Bacchus, exhibiting itself once more in the ecstasies and somnambulisms of the Montanists.” Now, it is no doubt true that Christianity assumes different phases in different nations; you could not conceive of Methodism being born in France, or even perhaps in Germany. It is the glory of Christianity that it can take on different forms according to social types and yet remain *essentially* unchanged—a fact that we need to remember in our world-wide mission, and not try to make American Christians of Koreans and Russians. But it is a good rule not to seek for remote causes

¹ *Church History*, Torrey's tr., vol. I, p. 513.

in things the springs of which lie at your very hand. And it is true that every one of the peculiarities of Montanism which have been traced back to old Phrygia, her religion and her national traits, it got straight from Christianity. Even as far back as 1841, when the brilliant pupil of Baur, F.C. Albert Schwegler (the same who wrote the *History of Philosophy*, which has been used so widely as a text-book in English-speaking lands, and who died at the early age of 38), published his learned study,¹ scholars have been inclined to place but little emphasis on the Phrygian origins of Montanism, for, as Schwegler says (pp. 82, 83), the Phrygian nature religion offers either too much or too little for our purpose; too much in that the whole external shape and equipment of that religion is sought for in vain in Montanism, and too little in that it does not explain the constitutive elements of the latter as a Christian movement. While it would be vain to deny Phrygian influence, it is superfluous to look there for any driving impulse. Baur himself had the insight to see this. He says truly² that "Montanism is rooted altogether in the original Christian faith of the Parousia of Christ, a faith which Paul also shared. The faith in the Parousia of Christ and the reaction against the

¹ *Der Montanismus und die Christliche Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Tüb., 1841.

² *Geschichte des Christlichen Kirche*, 3 Aufl. 1863, vol. i, p. 235.

world view which had already departed from this faith are the two chief elements out of which the origin and character of Montanism is to be explained." Anyhow, Montanus came out as the restorer of the old paths.

There was first, then, prophecy. He and the prophets and prophetesses associated with him broke out into ecstatic utterances which were looked upon as the immediate communications of God, and which he believed generally, if not always, came in this ecstatic way. In these the Spirit speaks in the first person. "See, man is as a lyre, and I strike him as a plectrum. The man sleeps; I awake. See, it is the Lord who in ecstasy removes the hearts of men, who also gives the hearts of men."¹ Generally the messages came in short, broken sentences, the momentary breaking through out of the depths of the Spirit-filled heart. They therefore came involuntarily, the spirits of the prophet not being subject to the prophets in the Pauline sense (1. Cor. 14. 32; that is, the Spirit-filled prophet, though he may speak in ecstasy, stands in control of his message, and does not speak it forth while others are speaking, but bides his time; the Spirit is in no hurry, but prefers order to confused and noisy utterances of truth). The theory of inspiration helped along this mantic method of utterance.

¹ Epiph. 48. 4.

What was the content of the prophecy? This will bring us to the full significance of the movement.

As to doctrine, these prophetic voices were in harmony with the general teaching of Scripture and Church. "They confess," says Hippolytus¹ "God the Father of all and the Creator of all, just as the Church does, and what the gospel witnesses concerning Christ." The greatest Montanist of history, and one of the greatest men of antiquity, Tertullian, the presbyter of Carthage (flourished A. D. 200), places himself on the Rule of Faith as on an impregnable rock, and looks upon the Scripture and dogmatic tradition as unassailable.² While on the Trinity some of the utterances argue the ordinary teaching, and others seem to point to Monarchianism, it is evident that this is simply because in Asia Minor the development had not cleared itself to a definite result, and the voices echo the general feeling. Montanism had no independent doctrinal significance, but simply joined itself consciously or unconsciously in the regular course of doctrinal development. In this respect it was exactly similar to Methodism, which came out not as an innovation on any of the doctrines received by either the Church of England or the Nonconformist churches, but by a more vital apprehension of those which agreed with original

¹ *Philosophumena* 8, 19.

² *De Virginitibus Velandis* I.

Christianity to make them again a living power among men. As to Gnosticism, the movement was against it. It vindicated the true body of Christ, the reality of his resurrection and that of our own body. As to eschatology, it was, rather, the emphasis and form than the content in which it differed from the Church teaching. The Montanist prophecy was a special gracious outpouring of the Spirit which should pave the way for the end. It is the peculiar fulfillment of Joel 3. 1, 2. There had been earlier fulfillments, as on the day of Pentecost, but this is a larger and more definite one. There was nothing contrary to regular Church teaching in all this. The Church never held that the outpourings at the beginning of Christianity excluded later ones, and there was nothing at all heretical in the claim that these later ones were more important because presaging the end and preparing men for it. And as far as that end itself was concerned, Professor Bonwetsch expresses the exact truth when he says¹ that the "end of the world by the near advent of Christ was the universal Church faith. We meet it often enough, for example, in a churchman like Cyprian." And though no prophecy of the Montanists depicted the second coming in the special form of chiliasm (the thousand-year reign of Christ on earth with his saints), yet if it had, it would have been noth-

¹ In his important *Geschichte des Montanismus*, Erlangen, 1881, p. 77.

ing peculiar, for eminent Christians like Justin and Tertullian were perfectly at home in that idea. The Montanists did indeed prophesy the coming down of the kingdom on Mount Pepuza, but their main thought was the general Christian one, namely, the ultimate glorification of man in body and soul in the presence of God.

It was in the realm of discipline perhaps that the Montanist movement met the most decisive opposition. Here the intention was simply to carry through the logical consequences of its theology. If Christ is soon to appear, then certainly it becomes Christians to watch and be sober, to deny themselves, and to take up their cross daily and follow Jesus. The methods of this cross-bearing were in the atmosphere of the time, and partially suggested by what I have spoken of above (p. 40) as an ascetic strain in Christianity itself. But in Montanism they were relentlessly laid down as indispensable conditions of the spiritual life, the true preparation for the Parousia. There must be no truckling with the world, no half measures, but the world must be cast out and crucified.

First, in regard to marriage. It is a fact that Montanism had a view of marriage heathen and not Christian. That marriage and all that is legitimately connected with it is not only permissible but honorable, as much so in its sphere as prayer and worship, is fundamental in Chris-

tianity (1 Cor. 9. 5; Heb. 13. 4). According to this, a virtuous married life is just as high a state in God's sight as virginity. This principle was rejected by the Montanists, as it soon came to be rejected by the Church. They explicitly rejected only a second marriage, but that rejection, like the Church's for ministers, was founded on a view of the physical side of the marriage relation absolutely heathen. "You cannot have a perfect Christianity there," they said. The prophetess Prisca praised the Montanists as the Virgin.¹ Sexual purity (that is, abstinence) is the most important condition for the reception of the Spirit, for only a holy servant can serve with holiness.² Of course men are permitted to marry, but this only on account of human weakness: a human ordinance, not as a divine prescription, an affair not of the authority of the Lord, but of human valuation or determination.³ Perfect virginity is the ideal.⁴ Marriage is a kind of whoredom, only law makes the difference.⁵ Tertullian did, indeed, at one time see the matter rightly.⁶ But he came to feel with his brother Montanists that the further leading of the Spirit had brought the Church to the point where, with the impending end, a more searching

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 5. 18, 3.

² Tertullian, *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, 10.

³ Tertullian, *De Monogamia*, 3.

⁴ *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, 3, 4; *De Monogamia*, 3.

⁵ *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, 9.

⁶ *De Anima*, 27.

ethic was on the conscience. This was not intended as a dogmatic rejection of marriage, for Montanism did not wish here to leave the ground of the Church. The heathen element which it emphasized—not, of course, as heathen, but in the highest Christian interest—was really a part of the Church and soon came to be emphatically so, as we see in monasticism, which was already in the air, and in the great saint and scholar Jerome. Nor did Montanism try to carry out the full logical result of its principles, but only to make real the forms of piety and moral ideals already in the Church. At the bottom the Montanist and the general Church ideas of marriage were the same. Both Montanism and the Church had in principle introduced—the one for all earnest believers, the other for the clergy—a new law and theory of Christianity.

The Montanists had also regular fast days in addition to those of the Church, and those of the latter they made more strict and binding. Besides these they had two weeks of half fast (*xerophagia*), in which they abstained from meat, broth, soft fruits, wine, and from the bath.

In regard to other matters, the Montanists sharpened Church customs. Women, including virgins, attended divine service veiled, as in Greek lands. Therefore there was no necessity for any ordinance on that subject in Asia Minor. In Africa, however, only married women went

veiled, a fact which gave occasion for the demand for the veiling of virgins, for which Tertullian speaks in his *De Virginibus Velandis*. On the crowning of soldiers the Montanists, as might be expected, took a negative attitude, in this having on their side the tradition of the Church. Martyrdom must not be avoided by flight. Church discipline must be kept taut. As a rule, in the Church the three great sins of murder, apostasy, and fornication were not forgiven; that is, those guilty were not taken in again, but placed in life-long penitence and commended to the mercy of God. But exceptions were made, especially by the intercession of martyrs. Montanism in Asia Minor discouraged readmittance, except at the word of the prophet, and except, probably, in the case of minor sins. In Africa the Montanists roundly denied any possibility of Church forgiveness for mortal sins. This forgiveness must be left to God.¹

Did Montanism have any trouble with the polity of the Church, especially with the development of the episcopate? Did it hark back to the simpler, nonepiscopal forms of early times? Only indirectly and through its emphasis on the prophets. What it wanted was a moral and spiritual reformation on the lines of the earlier time as interpreted to living men by the living Spirit, and it was not concerned, in the first place, with

¹ See Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, and Bonwetsch, pp. 112-118.

organization. But a spiritual conception of the Church is always unfavorable to the episcopal or hierarchical, as it exalts the first-hand relation of the believer to God. For that reason Churches that have been great religious forces have been more or less democratic, either in spirit or in form or in both. So it was with the Montanist movement. It said that the nature of the Church is not determined by grace mediated by officials (the Catholic view), but that grace comes through the piety of the members who receive prophetic leading; and the government of the Church does not stand in the hands of the officials, such as bishops, but, rather, in those whom the Spirit freely uses as the organs of his inspiration. One could be a bishop and only a psychic, and so unworthy of a decisive voice in the religious affairs of the Church; only the pneumatics in the special sense, that is, the prophets, are the qualified possessors of the powers of the keys. Besides, it is the inevitable tendency of officialism to broaden the Church morally, to make it more liberal, more lax in regard to sinners in the fold—especially rich sinners—and to accommodate the Church to the spirit of the times for the sake of enlarging its influence. That is what the bishops did about A. D. 150. Montanism was opposed to that through and through. It is only the Spirit-filled men in the Church who have the right to look after all mat-

ters of supreme religious importance. Only the men who are receiving the larger revelations which the Spirit is giving to-day before the end comes—only these have the powers of the keys. Montanism was not interested in throwing overboard the episcopate as such; only indirectly did it work against it. In this respect the early history of Methodism much resembled it in its attitude toward the polity of the Church of England.

Finally, the question comes: Did the Church do well to fight Montanism and cast it out? Should the Church have hailed the Montanist crisis as a providential deliverance from her increasing worldliness, joined with it, and guided it to beneficent spiritual results for herself? We naturally sympathize with the religious earnestness of the Montanist prophets, and their uncompromising attitude of opposition to every appearance of evil. However it may have been in Montanus's day, whoever has read the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian knows that the Church was sadly in need of a radical reformation.¹ But for all that, I must feel that the Church was guided by a true instinct in rejecting the "New Prophecy," the success of which in the long run would probably have been more disastrous than the progressive Catholicizing of the Church. For, first, the Church was wise in holding herself open to a new light on the second coming of

¹ See, for instance, chapter v of my *Cyprian*, 1906, pp. 47-57.

Christ. The assembly of the saints at Pepuza to receive the Lord is not in God's order. There is nothing for mankind in that. Perhaps the Church was illogical in refusing to go to Pepuza, but she was really following the better light (John 4. 21, 23). The only true preparation for the coming is doing one's daily tasks in the spirit of the Coming One. The first Church had misunderstood not the fact but the time and method of the coming, and history—that is, God—was now teaching her a larger lesson. To go to Pepuza would be to turn back the hands on the clock of God's providence.

Nor was the Church in error in not heeding the prophetic voices of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla. Prophecy was a thoroughly Christian institution, as we have seen, and the Montanists were orthodox in emphasizing it. But here, again, history was leading the Church to other paths. The Church had the Old Testament; she had here and there many books of the New Testament (I do not here refer to any doctrine of the canon); and it was divine guidance which was bringing believers more and more face to face with the written Word, and leaving in the background the immediate revelations of the prophets. In that way the Spirit testifies of the Christ, and to have him brought home to man is worth all the revelations in the world. Besides, two facts made the Montanist prophecy sus-

pected: (1) Its ecstatic character. As I have said, this was a common characteristic of Christian prophecy; the Montanists in this respect were not innovators. But they emphasized this character as a special mark of genuine revelation, and it is evident that that special form of prophecy was disappearing. And it was in the divine plan that it should disappear, the sooner the better. (2) The Montanist prophecy claimed to be a higher revelation than the New Testament, not different, nor a substitute for it (except where it contradicted it),¹ but growing out of it, climaxing it, and really a grander and fuller message. Montanism, as I have said, was entirely in harmony with the Rule of Faith, was in perfect alignment with the belief of the Church,² but also claimed to be a more perfect revelation than any heretofore granted. Ritschl, who gave a penetrating and on the whole just estimate of the Montanist movement in one of the great books of modern times, says³ that the "Montanists assert that they have in the New Prophecy received a revelation of God through the Spirit, which, in that it is distinguished from the revelation in Christ and under certain circumstances is set over against it, makes a claim to a higher validity than that which Christians generally

¹ Tertullian, *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, 6.

² *De Virginibus Velandis*, 1; *De Monogamia*, 2.

³ *Die Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche*, 2 Aufl., 1857, p. 462.

have hitherto thought to be the highest." It is the highest step to which revelation has yet attained, and as such is, of course, binding on all. So the new disciplinary decrees which the Spirit sanctions are the ripe fruit designed for the perfection of the Church. It is evident from this how different is Montanism from Methodism, whose glory it was to proclaim original Christianity in all its essential and spiritual elements, and even from Quakerism, which never placed the inner voice above the Word. And inasmuch as the content of the New Prophecy did not show itself to be superior to the revelation of Christ, I cannot but feel that it was a healthy instinct which finally rejected it, however much we sympathize with its moral enthusiasm and its marvelous faith.

It is of the essence of Christianity that it is a progressive religion. That does not mean that it progresses away from the truth, but with the truth and in the truth to ever larger truth, and to new forms of life and achievement. Nor does it mean that it gets away from the historic facts (the incarnation, the bodily resurrection of Christ, etc.) into a realm of dreams and speculations, but, rooted in the facts, it grows ever larger in the thoughts and reasonings of men. Montanism denied that fundamental fact in Christianity—progress—and so died as it deserved to die. Purer than the Church, it yet had

less promise for the future than the Church, which, though morally and doctrinally corrupt, in its devotion to Christ and the apostles had the earnest of a better day, the seeds of a new and grander life.

CHAPTER V

THE MONARCHIAN CRISIS: OR, WHO IS JESUS CHRIST?

THE fact that in Christ believers had a divine Saviour and Lord rested in the general consciousness of the early Church, but how to relate him to the supreme and only God, to God the Father, was not thought through. Was he from eternity a part of the essence of God? If so, in what sense? Was he a cosmical Spirit who in eternity came out from the being of God? Was he the Logos, or Word, or hypostatic so-called "personal" principle of expression or creation or redemption, of communication, of light, of truth, of love, etc.? Or was he God himself in another mode, the Eternal Father in human form, in redemptional manifestation? Was he a heavenly created Being who was incarnated and endowed with the Divine Spirit for his work? Or, finally, was he a man simply, whether born miraculously or not, who received a wonderful endowment from God, either at his birth or at his baptism? The reader will notice that the thought behind all these questions is that of some mysterious actual divinity, in the case of some of them of a substantial identity with God, of others of the supreme God himself, and of others of a moral

elevation to God or interpenetration with God. In all cases a kind of divinity is preserved. The modern notion of Christ as only a finely endowed spiritual teacher of beautiful and lofty character, a kind of better Wesley, a notion which springs from the modern prejudice to the supernatural, did not exist in the old Church.

An eminent historian of the liberal school introduces Monarchianism in this way. The problem of Christianity is the Person of its Founder. It was a common conviction among the early Christians that in him there was a perfect revelation of God, and that one must think of him as one thinks of God,¹ though as to his actual relation to God and man there was more or less wavering. Some teachers, such as Bishop Ignatius of Antioch (about A. D. 110), simply set God and Christ in one, without meaning to deny the real humanity of Jesus; others taught that in him a preëxistent heavenly Being (a God, or Divine Spirit, or Word) had come in the flesh;² others that he was a man in whom God through his holy Christ Spirit had taken his abode and could thus be worshiped.³ The second view came out victorious because it was in harmony with the rising philosophic Logos (Word) idea. The Apologists, the antignostic theolo-

¹ ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ, *Ancient Homily* — "2 Clem." Compare Pliny's quasi deo, *Epistle* 10. 96 (97). ² *Ancient Homily.*

³ So this historian interprets Hermas (A. D. 150).

gians, and the Alexandrians share in different degrees the idea of a divine self-unfolding in which the Logos is thought of as a second potency or hypostasis ("person") gone out from God and subordinated to him. This idea was the first common achievement of Christian thinkers. But among the simple ones it was looked upon with suspicion, because they were afraid that it was too high strung philosophically, and would endanger faith in one God, in whom, as taught in the Rule of Faith, all believed. "We hold a monarchy [one only supreme Deity]," they said.¹ Other attempts were made to solve the Person of Christ by avoiding anything that looked like ditheism, some of them by lessening the deity of Christ, others by lessening his humanity; and both classes of attempts were called Monarchianism, though originally the name was used only of the second.²

It is a favorite contention of so-called liberal scholars that the belief in the divinity of Christ, based on the Trinitarian conception of God, arose from borrowing Jewish theophanies, or God-manifestations, and philosophical ideas of the Greeks, and clothing them with Christian dress; and that the spring of the Monarchian movement was in part a reaction against such high-flown notions in favor of a simpler faith. Thus Har-

¹ Tertullian, *Adversus Praxeam*, 3.

² Von Schubert in his edition of Möller, *KG.*, 1892, p. 268f.

nack says,¹ that the above belief corresponded to the explanation of the Old Testament theophanies, which was taken over by the Alexandrian fathers, and which proved so effective in apologetical use. The Christian Son-of-God doctrine could be most easily accepted by educated heathen in the shape of the Logos doctrine. See the notable confession of Celsus 2. 31: "If really, according to your teaching, the Word is the Son of God, then we agree with you." This belief in the divinity of Christ is supported by the witness of Paul and by a row of primitive writings whose authority was becoming more and more absolute, and—what is not the least—it could with little pains be classified in the same order with the cosmological and theological principles which as the foundation for a rational Christian theology had been borrowed from the religious philosophy of the time. Where belief in the divine Logos for explanation of the origin and history of the world was taken up, there it was already decided by what means the divine honors and the sonship of God of the Redeemer are alone to be determined. In this way the theologians have nothing at all to fear for their monotheism. For the eternal Substance lying back of the world—so they thought of the Deity—can repre-

¹ In his elaborate article on Monarchianism (pp. 33) in the third edition of the *Herzog Realencyklopädie* (edited by Hauck), vol. xiii (1903), pp. 305, 306.

sent and unfold himself in different subjects. He can communicate his peculiar uncreated being to different bearers, without being emptied or in his being divided. Finally, the theologians had nothing to fear for the "deity" of Christ, in whom the incarnation of that Logos was to be seen. For the conception of the Logos was capable of being filled with the most manifold content, and for its skillful treatment there was the most abundant preparation. This conception could fit every change and increase of religious interest, every deepening of speculation, as well as every need of worship—yes, even the new results of biblical exegesis. Step by step it revealed itself as the most convenient variable, which could be immediately determined by every new quantity which was taken up in theological advance. In fact, it came to have a content which was in the sharpest opposition to the thoughts out of which the conception itself sprang, that is, a content which almost completely hid the cosmological origin of the conception. But it lasted long, until this was reached. As long as the Logos was used as a formula under which one conceived it as the original pattern of the world or as the reasonable world law, so long there did not entirely cease a mistrust of the propriety of the conception for fixing the deity of Christ. For it was the deity itself in the Redeemer which the pious wished to

see, and nothing less. Athanasius was the first who made that possible for them by his interpretation of the formula of the Logos, but, at the same time, if he did not bring the whole conception to naught, he really placed it in the background (that is, he shelved the ideas that connected the Logos with the world creation, etc., for those which connected it with the redemption and the Redeemer). And the history of Christology from Athanasius to Augustine is the history of the substitution of the conception of the Son (as the "other I" of God) for that of the Logos, which, of course, still bore many traits of the old Logos conception. Thus the explanations of Harnack.

All this is most interesting and there is enough truth in it to make it plausible. But two or three other things might be said: (1) It ought not to be anything against a Christian truth—in this case the deity of Christ as the Word or Expression or Communicating Love and Power or Mediator or World-side, of God, in eternal hypostatic union and communion with him, the conception of God as a Complex, as a manifold Life instead of a bare unit (Mohammedanism)—that it fitted in with the highest thoughts of Jew and pagan, was prepared for by them, and was the completion and flowering out of their best conceptions. The kinship of this truth with the highest reaches of Jewish or pagan philosophy

should, rather, commend it to those who look upon God as the inspirer and teacher of all his children. (2) But this truth was not borrowed from Jew or Greek. It was part of the original consciousness of the Church, borne in upon believers by their Christian experience, by the leading of the Spirit, who, it will not be denied, took of the things of Christ and revealed them unto them, and by their daily walk with Christ. It was, indeed, enlarged and deepened on the intellectual and literary side by the Old Testament, by the later Jewish Alexandrian teachers, by the best things that Greek philosophy had to offer; but all this had only to do with the form, the unfolding, the apologetic statement, the theological shaping, not with the content or essence of the doctrine. "All the truth that you have in your impersonal Logos, or personified Wisdom or Power, etc.," said apostles and others, "we have in Christ, the true Word, the true Revelation and Life of God." (3) The conception of Christ which believers had was not that he had received something from the Substance that lies back of the World, as this Substance unfolds himself or itself to different individuals, but that he was himself the peculiar and only begotten Son of God. (4) Their conception of Christ as the Word did not spring from cosmological speculations but from the conviction—was it not inspired by the Spirit?—that he who was their life

was also the life of the universe, and he who made them made the world. (5) It was not a transformation or bringing to naught of the original doctrine of the deity of Christ (the Word, etc.) that, as it is alleged, it went forward from a cosmological to a redemptional reference. Both existed either implicitly or explicitly in the finest and devoutest souls. One was only the reverse or deeper side of the other. At the same time it is interesting to note that Harnack acknowledges that the truth of the deity of Jesus went back to Paul, the first literary champion of Christianity, who claims to have received his gospel direct from Christ, and that it went back to the early Christian witnesses, whose writings were ever being invested with absolute authority in the Church. He also acknowledges that the doctrine was the deepest, the worthiest, the most satisfying to religious feeling and needs, the most manifold in its response to the growing life of Christian men, and the most fitting to meet the searchings and speculations of Christian thinkers; the doctrine which filled most truly the devotions and worship of Christian saints, as well as every advancing knowledge of the Bible. And with every advance in Christian theology that doctrine was not only not outgrown, but it was there to make the advance fruitful for life and for death, for comfort and for light, for salvation and for immortality.

Loofs, who belongs to the same general school as Harnack, to whom he dedicates his book, acknowledges¹ that a Trinitarian conception goes back to the New Testament, a conception which saw in the historical Christ and in the Holy Spirit an "economical" unfolding of the self-revealing God, and, indeed, so that the Logos appearing in the Christ, although as Spirit one with God, was before ages (aeons) to be distinguished from him, while the Spirit of God or of Christ in an analogous way was looked upon as a third revelation of God which first went out from the historical Christ (John 20. 22) and is working in the Church. I do not ask whether this covers the New Testament doctrine, but it is interesting as a statement of an eminent scholar of the right Ritschlian wing that that doctrine is a Trinitarian one.

It was the noble aim of the Monarchians to prove at all hazards the truth of one God, while, at the same time, guarding in some form the divinity of Jesus. First, a word as to what are called dynamistic (*δυναμικς*, power) Monarchians. These start from the historical human person of Jesus; but, knowing that Christ was more than a man, they guarantee the divinity in him by asserting an indwelling power of God. Among these are to be counted the Alogi, a little company of people in Asia Minor, the Boston of the

¹ *Dogmengeschichte*, 4 Aufl., 1906, pp. 137, 138.

ancient Church, where all kinds of ideas were moving and fermenting, who seem to have been called out by a reaction from the Montanist emphasis on the Spirit, with the various crude ideas which were connected with that emphasis, which was founded partly on John's Gospel. They therefore threw overboard that Gospel and the Logos (Word) Christology which it proclaimed. They were the first rationalistic critics of the New Testament, calling attention to the differences between John's and other Gospels, and on the strength of these differences, and of the doctrine of the person of Christ contained in the former (though at bottom no different from the others), rejecting it. How thoroughly out of accord they were with the Christian current is seen by their utter repudiation of the Montanists as an unchristian party. More important was Theodotus, the learned leather-maker, who about A. D. 190 came from Byzantium to Rome. Epiphanius calls him (54. 1) a "torn-off rag of the Alogi heresy," who taught that Jesus was a man, who by the divine decree was born of the Holy Spirit from a virgin, and upon this most pious and just man the Spirit came down at the baptism in the Jordan. This Spirit which thus came down and entered into Jesus is called the Son of God, or Christ. In consequence of this endowment, or kind of post-natal incarnation, Jesus did his miracles. However, it is not to be

called an incarnation properly, and this Jesus Christ is not to be called God, or at the most, as some said, only after the resurrection. Although these men seemed to have in other matters the general faith of the Church, and held to the common books of the New Testament, including John, and entertained ideas on Christ which some think not far from those of Hermas, whose book enjoyed great favor in Church circles, yet they were excluded from Church fellowship—at least Theodotus was—by Victor, bishop of Rome (A. D. 190ff.), because they made Christ a *ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος* a mere man. This charge was fair as to Christ's origin, but was not fair as to his later relations to God, which were not at all that of a man. The later inflow of the divine Spirit into Christ made him a kind of God. Under Bishop Zephyrinus (A. D. 202ff.) they formed their own Church society in Rome.

The leather-worker of Byzantium, whose following was apparently small, whose idea of a human Christ only later divinely filled made no appeal to the general Church consciousness, has had his sweet revenge. For his Christ is coming to be the Christ of many in the so-called orthodox Churches. So long as you hold to the single nature of Christ—that he is a man only as to his origin and essence—then you can admit almost anything desired as to the fullness with which his beautiful and simple soul received the divine.

Throw out the miraculous conception, for the modern man, it is said, will know nothing of the supernatural; throw out his essential oneness with God, for the modern man does not know nor care anything about "metaphysics," for anything above historical phenomena and their natural causes; but after that bring in as much of God to explain his marvelous personality and influence as you like. This is the new Christology, which still claims to guard Christ's divinity; but it is as old as the leather-worker of the Bosphorus of the second century. But it has never been explained why only one human ever received so much of God as to be either worshiped as God by his followers, or to practically take the place of God for those who would not wish to admit that they worship him. For Theodotus's Christ as a common man¹ an idea which Loofs well says (p. 184) was with right looked upon as contrary to the tradition received by the Church, to have met this fate was a far greater miracle than the Christ received from the first in the Church—the Christ who was *both* man *and* the Son of God.

The other class of Monarchians, to whom properly the name belonged, were the modalistic Monarchians, sometimes called the Patripassians (those who believed the Father suffered). Here the start was made from the deity of Christ, and

¹ κοινὸς ἄνθρωπος, Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, 10. 23.

from that as a basis the argument was made backward on the universally received assumption of only one God to the virtual denial of Christ's full humanity, that Christ himself is the Almighty God and Father, or a mode of him. This doctrine also arose in Asia Minor, and from there sprang over to Rome. Apparently, its first representative was Noëtus, of Smyrna, in the latter part of the second century. In the region of Polycarp, the pupil of Saint John, where also memories of Ignatius were present, in that Asia Minor where the idea of the absolute deity of Christ was reigning, witnessed by the naïve placing of Christ and God in the same category by Ignatius and Irenæus, a placing which goes back through these and Polycarp to John (Paul) and to Christ—in that region it was easy by over-emphasizing his divinity to lose sight of his absolute humanity, guaranteed by the incarnation, and to make Christ only another mode or form of the one God (the Father). This Noëtus did. But it was a true instinct which made the Church as jealous for the real humanity of Christ as for his real divinity, and therefore Noëtus was excluded from fellowship in spite of his question, "What harm do I glorifying the Christ?" A follower of Noëtus and an enemy of the Montanists, Praxeas, went to Rome and introduced the doctrine there. Thence he went to Carthage, where, "many sleeping in the simplicity

of doctrine”¹ (compare the condition of many Christians to-day over against the Christian Science propaganda), he found a large entrance and raised up against him the most powerful mind of the early Church before Origen, Tertullian, who met him with arguments (before A. D. 202) and compelled him to retract. Praxeas was a man of no small talent, as in Rome after the bishop there had acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and had bestowed his peace upon the churches of Asia and Phrygia, Praxeas persuaded him, as the Judaizers persuaded his alleged predecessor, Peter, to a change of course, to the deep disgust of Paul (Gal. 2. 11-14), to withdraw his friendly letter and change his cordial feeling, besides apparently inducing the bishop to a favorable attitude as to his doctrine of Christ. For, as Tertullian says (*Adv. Prax.*, 1) in a stinging sentence, “By this Praxeas did a twofold service to the devil in Rome: he drove away prophecy and brought in heresy; he put to flight the Paraclete and crucified the Father.” Not only so, but, according to Hippolytus, one of the greatest Church fathers of the third century, not only this bishop of Rome (probably Victor), but also his successor, Zephyrinus (about A. D. 202-218), whom Hippolytus calls—we hope with exaggeration—“an ignorant and shamefully corrupt man,” and

¹ Tertullian, *Adversus Praxeam*, 1.

again an "ignorant and illiterate person," became hopelessly involved in the doctrine of Noëtus; and even more his successor, Callistus (about A. D. 218), a thorough knave according to Hippolytus, was carried away by the same Christology.¹ It is not against these Roman Popes that, of little mental equipment, untrained in theological distinctions, and holding firmly to the old Church teaching of the divinity of Christ, they should have been misled by the plausible disciples of Noëtus, and that in desiring to maintain the deity of the Saviour they should have leaned backward, so to speak, and become practically or actually Patripassians, as the great bishop affirms. It is only as we measure them by the later dogma of papal infallibility, first officially affirmed in 1870, that they appear incompetent leaders of the Church, blindly leading it into what came to be roundly rejected as heresy. They were not to blame for that dogma, which is shattered on their history, that is, if we are to assume the substantial accuracy of Hippolytus.

The modalistic Christology went a step farther. What is called the Father and the Son is one and the same, but the Son is not an arbitrary change of name, but expresses the *mode* to which God determines himself. God himself makes himself a Son. He is born his own Son. According to the time he is either Father or Son. On the cross

¹ *Philosophumena*, 9. 2, 6, 7.

he gave up his spirit to himself; that is, God transforms himself into different modes. If we may believe accounts which are late (Basil, Athanasius), Sabellius was one of the principal men of this view. One and the same is Father and Son. God appears now as Father, now as Son, now as Holy Spirit, according to the necessity of the divine activity. How far these Persons or appearances or energies are to be looked upon as the *successive* coming forth or revelation of the one God in the creative, redeeming, and sanctifying work, cannot be said with certainty.

Callistus, bishop of Rome A. D. 217ff., though really a Patripassian, tried to make a compromise and bring peace to the Church. In holding to the sameness of essence of Father and Son he satisfied the modalistic Monarchians, but he struck the clever middle ground, namely, that the Father did not suffer, but only suffered *with the Son*, who in this relation is to be distinguished from the Father, who is Spirit, while the Son is Spirit and flesh, or, briefly, flesh. Hippolytus says (9. 7) that Callistus "alleges that the Logos himself is Son and himself is Father, and though called by a different title he is in reality one indivisible Spirit. The Father is not one Person and the Son another, but they are one and the same. All things are full of the divine Spirit. The Spirit which became incarnate in the virgin is not different from the Father, but

one and the same. The Father who subsisted in (the Son) himself, after he had taken to himself our flesh, raised it to the nature of the Deity, by bringing it into union with himself, and made it one; so that the Father and the Son must be styled one God; and this Person being one cannot be two." In this way Callistus contends, Hippolytus goes on to say, that the "Father suffered along with the Son, for he does not wish to assert that the Father suffered and is one Person, being careful to avoid blaspheming the Father. Senseless and knavish fellow, who improvises blasphemies in every direction only that he may not seem to speak in violation of the truth and is not abashed at being at one time betrayed into the tenet of Sabellius, whereas at another in the doctrine of Theodotus." It is evident, whatever exaggeration and bitterness may breathe through the great orthodox bishop's words, that his contemporary moral and theological enemy Callistus was trying to carry water on both shoulders. Von Schubert well describes (i, 237) his formula as an iridescent or changing color (*schillernde*) one, and neither Sabellius on the one hand nor Hippolytus on the other was satisfied with it, while Tertullian directs a powerful book against the followers of Praxeas, "whom we may well understand to be no one but Callistus and his people." Anyhow, Monarchianism in the West could not stand the onsets of such trench-

ant pens as Tertullian and Hippolytus, and was given a finishing stroke in the book on the Trinity by Novatian, independent bishop of Rome, A. D. 251. In the East the mighty spirit of Origen helped to kill it. But it may be that the facing-two-ways formulas of the slippery ecclesiastical politician Callistus were a kind of bridge for the quiet passing over into the Church of the regular Christology, a doctrine of the person of Christ which saved both his humanity and divinity, which went back from the theologians of the first part of the third century through Polycarp, John, Paul, to Christ himself. That preserved the interest the dynamistic Monarchians were jealous for, the actual manhood of Jesus, providing for his deity in a secondary way, as well as the interest their modalistic brethren felt uppermost—the absolute Godhead of Jesus.

I cannot understand the insistence of Harnack in making¹ the conquering Christology the product of the Platonic-Stoic philosophy, except in the sense that all truth is one. Men like Tertullian and Hippolytus were not inclined to heathen notions as such. No; it was the consciousness of standing in the stream of a living tradition that flowed from the fountain head, in the possessing of a Christian experience that meant a divine Redeemer, and face to face with authentic

¹ *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*, 3 Aufl., vol. xiii, pp. 306, 307.

documents that from the earliest time bore witness that Christ had not only come in the flesh, but that He who had come was the Son of God; and the Christology that pressed back Monarchianism was the most scientific, the most rational, the inevitable expression of these facts. Nor is Harnack right in saying that the history of the fight with Monarchianism is the "history of the supplanting of the historical Christ by the pre-existent, of the living by the imaginary," and that in doctrine it "is the victorious attempt to keep the Christian faith of the laity in leading strings by a theological formula they could not understand, and to set the mystery of the person (of Christ) in the place of the person." Just the contrary is the fact. It was exactly as the genuine Gospels and Epistles were being more and more scattered and studied, as the knowledge of them was being more and more deepened and enlarged, and thus the facts of the historical Christ were becoming more and more a part of the general knowledge, it was exactly when this process was going on that the true doctrine of Christ as over against Theodotus and Noëtus was sinking into the universal Christian mind. And would it be said that the fantastic conception of him of Byzantium, namely, that at some one time in his experience God poured himself into Jesus, so that after that time he was divine while not before, was a more living, a more real, a more his-

torical conception than that of his opponents? Much less the conception of Noëtus of successive transformations of God the Father. Did they correspond with the inner experience of Jesus as set forth in the Gospels? I do not say that there is no mystery in the person of Jesus. Every personality is an unfathomable sea. The only difference between the mystery of the Monarchians and that of their opponents is that the latter was rational and satisfied the facts, while the former was not and did not. I cannot share, therefore, Harnack's sympathy with the vanquished in this fight. As grossly exaggerated also is Harnack's statement that with the victory of the Logos Christology the "thought of the real human personality of the Redeemer was condemned as ecclesiastically insufferable." The actual human personality of Jesus was fundamental in the Church. In fact, that was one reason for her conflict with both Gnosticism and Monarchianism. But the Church saw that such a real human personality was not inconsistent with a preëxistence in essential oneness with God, but was guaranteed by the incarnation. It is our task to find a place for all the facts.

The scheme of the modalistic Monarchians has had a fascination for minds of varied type. An eminent Congregational clergyman writes me that he still holds the doctrine of the Trinity, though he would state it in a modalistic form.

It is also said that many in so-called orthodox Churches are really Sabellians. It is not the place here to make an argument in systematic theology. But for those who are drawn to Noëtus and his school I would ask that they read the literature his views called out, and to consider whether there can be, after all, any real modal Trinity unless it rests back on an immanent Trinity. But there can be many God-endowed men.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHILIASTIC CRISIS: OR, SHALL CHRISTIANITY FULFILL ITS MISSION BY LEAVENING OR BY CATASTROPHE?

CHILIASM (*χίλιοι*, a thousand; singular, *χίλια*, used with collective nouns) is the name generally applied to the belief in the thousand-year reign of Christ in person on earth, after which comes the end. The doctrine has assumed large importance in modern times by an active propaganda in tracts, pamphlets, books, conferences, conventions, etc., and the claim is frequently made that this was the regular belief of the whole Church in the first centuries. It is one aspect of the second-coming-of-Christ doctrine, which has now three forms: (1) Christ is never coming in person at all, his second coming having been fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish Church-State as such in A. D. 70, or in similar historical catastrophes, and that his coming is really his Presence (*παρουσία*, Parousia) which is not to be interpreted as a visible and external act, but as his spiritual working in the world. I think the first to set forth this view was the Rev. Dr. Israel P. Warren, editor of *The Christian Mirror*, Portland, Maine, an eminent Congregational minister, in his *The Parousia*

(Portland, 1879, second edition, enlarged, 1884), whose view has able supporters in the Rev. Dr. J. Stuart Russell, a brother Congregationalist, in his *The Parousia* (London, 1887), and in the late Rev. Dr. William S. Urmy, of the California Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in his *Christ Came Again*, New York, 1900. The fact that Dr. Urmy was never compelled to retract his opinion or withdraw his book, and never tried for heresy, has the significance of a revolution in the attitude of the Methodist Church toward heresy. For, speaking historically, it is hardly too much to say that the belief in Christ's first coming has not been more general, more firmly held, more a part of the consciously or unconsciously held doctrinal possessions of the Church from the apostolic times till now, than the belief in his second coming at the end of the age or of the world (not simply in A. D. 70) for reign or for judgment or for both. The denying that is something like Kalthoff's denial that Christ ever existed. (2) Christ is coming at the end of the world to wind up the affairs of mankind, to judge the evil and the good, and to deliver over the kingdom to God the Father. (3) Christ is coming at the end of the first Christian world-age to reign in the world for a thousand years (interpreted strictly or loosely), when his saints shall reign with him in gladness and peace, when his kingdom shall win universal obedience,

after which shall come the end. This is sometimes called premillennialism, or chiliasm, though it must be remembered that early chiliasm must not be charged with all the views of later teachers of the same trend.

Chiliasm is generally associated with a belief in the visible return of Christ for the setting up of an earthly theocracy as the middle point of a perfect world-rule which belongs to Christianity as such, and which is a preparatory step for the other life. It includes annihilation of godless world-powers, which must be ruled by the godly, and generally a double resurrection—that of the pious for the thousand-year kingdom, and that of the rest of the dead for general judgment at the end. The doctrine was commonly thought of as meaning that the pious would have perfect enjoyment of spiritual and physical blessings, and share Christ's rule over sinners, or men who do not partake of his glory. Of course the view has suffered various modifications, but, in general, it may be said that it rejects the idea of a normal historical development of Christianity, for the millennium is not the result of spiritual work and spiritual laws, but the sudden invasion of Christ and other-life conditions on this bank and shoal of time.

Chiliasm is not, however, to be confounded with any special theory of the *time* of Christ's return. I have already referred to the general

expectation of the early coming of Christ in the apostolic and post-apostolic times. Men who held that might not be chiliasts or premillennialists, though they doubtless often were. The indispensable note of the chiliast is the intermediate world period of a thousand years under the imposing and interesting auspices of the personal bodily reign of the Lord. Chiliasm certainly presented a fascinating program: one cannot be surprised at its wide vogue. What were its sources?

Parseeism, the religion of Persia as reformed by Zoroaster, was the first to proclaim the thousand-year reign, when the evil kingdom would be overthrown. Old Testament prophecy did not have the idea. "It simply promised a kingdom of the Messiah in which after a restoration of the Jewish state and uniting of all people in a common worship of Jehovah, the happiness of the improved nation would be manifested by external prosperity and glorified peace. Out of this picture of the future the materializing spirit of later Judaism, which interpreted the prophets in a sensuous way without distinguishing between fact and picture, took hold with preference of the political side, under pressure of the civil position. But this hope of the future received still a more transcendental character. The idea of world judgment and world destruction, of the resurrection of the dead, of the other life, obtained shape

and influence. An opposition developed between this life and the other, between the old Jewish hope of a happy life of the pious in a happy land and new conceptions of a heavenly kingdom, before which the present world passes away. In the interest of overcoming this opposition, the idea of an intermediate kingdom (chiliasm) in which all earthly expectations would be satisfied, and upon which final joys of the other life would follow, may have risen. It was not the prevailing sentiment of the Jews in the time of Christ. According to Dan. 2. 44 and Psalms of Solomon 17. 4, the Messianic kingdom is the eternal and final one. But the chiliastic sentiment is present in the prophecy of the ten weeks in Enoch 93; 91. 12-19; in 4 Ezra 7. 28f., and in the apocalypse of Baruch 40. 3. The sketch is the most complete in 4 Ezra: the last oppression, the advent of the Messiah, the war of the nations against the Messiah and their overthrow, descent of the heavenly Jerusalem, gathering together of the scattered Israel, the four-hundred-year kingdom of the Messiah, the seven days silence, the renewing of the world, the general resurrection, the last Judgment, eternal salvation and eternal damnation. With such an apocalyptic there went the reckoning of the world-periods. The later favorite reckoning in the Church of six thousand or seven thousand years was already met with in the translators of the Pentateuch, placed by

Lagarde about B. C. 280, and then in the book of Enoch, chapter 33.”¹

For those readers who have not at their elbows these Apocryphal books of later Judaism I give the words or the tenor of the passages referred to. Psalms of Solomon 17. 4 (B. C. 65-40; to be distinguished from the odes of Solomon recently discovered and published by J. Rendel Harris): “And the Kingdom of our God shall be over the Gentiles for ever [unto judgment].” Enoch 93 (perhaps B. C. 166-98) gives the seven weeks of sacred history and what will occur at the end of each. At the end of the seventh week the elect will receive sevenfold instruction concerning God’s whole creation. Enoch 91. 12-19 gives the doings at the end of the eighth, ninth, and tenth weeks. “In the 10th week in the 7th part there will be the great eternal judgment, in which He will execute vengeance among the angels. And the first heaven will depart and pass away, and a new heaven will appear, and all the powers of the heavens will shine sevenfold forever. And after that there will be many weeks without number forever in goodness and righteousness, and sin will be no more mentioned forever.” 4 Ezra or Esdras = 2 Ezra 7. 28ff. (after A. D. 70): “For my own Jesus [better reading, Messias] shall be revealed with those that are with him, and they

¹ Semisch-Bratke, art., “Chiliasmus,” in *Herzog-Hauck*, 3 Aufl., vol. iil (1897), pp. 806, 807.

that remain shall rejoice for four hundred years. And it shall come to pass after these years that my Son Christ shall die, and all men that have breath. And the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days, as in the first beginnings, so that no man shall be left. And it shall come to pass after seven days the world, that yet awaketh not, shall be raised up, and what is corrupt shall die. And the earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, and the dust those that dwell in silence in it, and the chambers shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment, and mercy shall pass away, and long suffering shall have an end; but judgment only shall remain, and truth shall stand, and faith shall grow strong, and one's work shall follow, and one's reward shall be shown, and righteous dealings shall be awake, and unrighteous dealings sleep [received text, rule] not." Apocalypse of Baruch 40. 3 (after A. D. 70, to be distinguished from the well-known Book of Baruch) : "And his principate will stand forever, until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled." Enoch 33 is probably a misprint for 93.

Christ was no chiliast. In Mark 1. 15 he proclaims that the time of the coming of the kingdom is fulfilled, but of a provisionary kingdom, of a distinction between his and his Father's, he

knows nothing. His return is no other than the final Judgment itself, which he himself is to carry out, until which the wheat and tares grow together (Matt. 13. 30, 41f.; 16. 27; 24; 25. 11f., 31f.). The "resurrection of the just" (Luke 14. 14) does not issue in another world-period which goes before the final coming. With the final Judgment there is united the world-renewing (Matt. 19. 28). In the portrayal of the glory of the kingdom of heaven he uses ideas and figures easily comprehended by everyone, describes the future consummation in phrases easily gotten hold of, and, instead of mystical suggestions, he comforts his own with the intimation that, according to place and condition, there is a connection between the highest earthly joy and the happiness of the Messianic time (Mark 10. 40; 13. 27; Matt. 5. 4; 8. 11; 22. 1-14; 25. 1-13; Luke 13. 29; 4. 15-24; 22. 16, 30). But as he earned the ingratitude of his people because he disappointed their sensuous hopes, so he had to make clear to the Sadducees (Mark 12. 24f.) that they knew neither the Scripture nor the power of God if they believed that the other life could and would only repeat the earthly world order, and no new spiritual order set in its place; and in his parting hour he had to bring home to his disciples the fact that the future joys of the kingdom of God are to be spiritual, or supersensuous, when he promised to them that in the consummated king-

dom of God he would drink of the fruit of Christ vine "new," that is, not again, but as glorified.

The Jewish Christians, of course, were open to appeal from apocalyptic, chiliastic visions, hopes, and beliefs. The New Testament as a whole is remarkably free from them. There is the famous passage in Rev. 20. 4ff., which has been both a starting and a returning point for any amount of speculation in this territory. Its true interpretation I must turn over to exegetical scholars, though I must confess I have considerable sympathy with the remark of Semisch-Bratke already quoted, that "with the difficulty of distinguishing between picture and object (or fact) the chiliasm of the Apocalypse remains a hieroglyph, which, in spite of the intensive investigating work which that book has recently received, still awaits satisfactory solution." It is interesting that the later chiliasts did not build much on that passage, but generally on the views and visions of the Old Testament, which, in the lack of scientific exegesis, could be easily turned to their purpose.

No doubt the persecutions were another factor in turning the mind to the delights of an earthly reign of Christ. As martyrdom was the sowing, so the kingdom of Christ was the great harvest day of the Church. From the afflictions of the present the gaze was fixed upon the coming thousand years of joy. If we may believe a quotation

in Eusebius¹ the great heretic Cerinthus, a contemporary of John, was a strong realistic chiliast, and the views also existed in other societies of Jewish heretics.

Among regular Church teachers also views partially chiliastic prevailed. Thus Barnabas (placed by Weizsäcker and Lightfoot A. D. 70-79, by Hilgenfeld A. D. 96-98, by others later), speaking of God resting after his six days' labor, says (chapter 15): "He meaneth this, that in six thousand years the Lord shall bring all things to an end; for the day with him signifieth a thousand years; and this he himself beareth me witness, saying, Behold the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years [2 Pet. 3. 3]. Therefore, children, in six days, that is, in six thousand years, everything shall come to an end." Commenting on "He resteth on the seventh day," he adds: "This he meaneth: when his Son shall come, and shall abolish the time of the Lawless One, and shall judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun and the moon and the stars, then shall he truly rest on the seventh day." Here we have a definite teaching of Christ's return at the end of six thousand years, but no statement of an earthly kingdom. The coming seems to bring the end. *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (about A. D. 100-125) believes firmly in the coming, but says nothing of millennial reign. "May

¹ *Historica Ecclesiastica* 3. 28, 2.

grace come and this world pass away" (chapter 10). Speaking of the signs of the end (chapter 16): "Then all created mankind shall come to the fire of testing, and many shall be offended and perish; but they that endure in their faith shall be saved by the Curse himself [compare Gal. 3. 13]. And then shall the signs of the truth appear; first a sign of a rift in the heaven, then a sign of a voice of a trumpet, and, thirdly, a resurrection of the dead; yet not all, but as it was said: The Lord shall come and all his saints with him [Zech. 14. 5]. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of the heaven" (Matt. 24. 30). The same certainty of the end breathes in the Ancient Homily (= "2 Clement" A. D. 120-140, chapter 12), where the preacher says: "Let us therefore await the kingdom of God . betimes in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of God's appearing. For the Lord himself, being asked by a certain person when his kingdom would come, said: when the two shall be one and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female, neither male nor female" (quotation probably from the Gospel of the Egyptians). Here also a silence as to the thousand-year kingdom.

Papias of Hierapolis, said to have been a hearer of John the apostle, who wrote *Exposition of Oracles of the Lord* about A. D. 130, unfortunately lost except for fragments, had a suffi-

ciently sensuous idea of the kingdom. His description fairly makes one's head swim. Irenæus (A. D. 160-180) quotes him (5. 33): "The days will come in which vines shall grow, each having 10,000 shoots, and each shoot 10,000 branches, and on each branch again 10,000 twigs, on each twig 10,000 clusters, and on each cluster 10,000 grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield twenty-five measures of wine. And when any of the saints shall have taken hold of one of their clusters, another shall cry, I am a better cluster; take me, bless the Lord through me. Likewise a grain of wheat shall produce 10,000 heads, and every head shall have 10,000 grains, and every grain ten pounds of fine flour bright and clean, and the other fruits, seeds, and grass shall produce in similar proportions; and all the animals using the fruits which are products of the soil shall become in their turn peaceable and harmonious, obedient to men in all subjection." Papias does not here in so many words connect this fruitfulness of the earth and quiet subjection of animals with the personal reign of Christ on earth, but it may fairly be assumed that the connection exists. Irenæus himself, a much heavier weight, assents heartily to Papias's faith, and adds on his own responsibility: "The blessing thus foretold belongs undoubtedly to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous shall rise from the dead and reign, and when, too, creation,

renewed and freed from bondage, shall produce a wealth of food of all kinds from the dew of heaven and from the fatness of the earth."

In his *Dialogue with Trypho* (about A. D. 145-150), chapter 80, the question is put to Justin Martyr: Do you expect your people to be gathered together and made joyful with Christ and the patriarchs and the prophets, both the men of our nation and the proselytes? Justin replies that many are of this opinion, among others himself, but by no means all; for "many who belong to the pure and pious faith and are true Christians think otherwise." Still "I and others who are right-minded Christians in all points are assured there will be a resurrection of the dead, of a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built, adorned, enlarged, as the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare." I cannot but feel that there is a good deal of plausibility in the remark of Harnack,¹ to the effect that a "philosopher like Justin, with a bias toward a Hellenic construction of the Christian religion, should, nevertheless, have accepted its chiliaistic elements is the strongest proof that these enthusiastic expectations were inseparably bound up with the Christian faith down to the middle of the second century." They were certainly bound up with it in the thought of some,

¹ Art., "Millennium," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, 1884, vol. xvi, p. 328.

but Justin himself admits that they were not absolutely essential, as good Christians did not share them. On the other hand, in the writings of Ignatius, Polycarp, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus of Antioch there is not a trace of the millennial faith. But perhaps one ought not to build too much on this silence, which may have been due, some suggest, to political caution. From the words quoted in Eusebius 5. 24, 5, concerning Melito, bishop of Sardis about A. D. 160ff., "who lies in Sardis, awaiting the episcopate from heaven, when he shall rise from the dead," it has been supposed that he too was a chiliast. Tertullian belonged to this school, even independently of his Montanism (*Contra Marcionem*, 3. 24), as well as Hippolytus—two great names in Church history.

Chiliasm broke on the spiritual ideas of the Alexandrian fathers. Matter was too much connected with evil to satisfy the lofty idealism of Origen. Therefore the end of redemption must be an entire doing away with the sensuous and rosy-tinted pictures of material bliss painted by the chiliasts. Origen looked upon all such things as stories of Jews or idolatry of the letter (*De Principiis* 2. 11). Other forces were working against the millennial hope. Just as to-day a theory of evolution and the whole scientific trend is slowly undermining supernatural religion among many minds, so in the second and third

centuries philosophical and theological thinking was getting beyond the reach of the old catastrophic faith, with its fantastic attachments. As I have shown, Montanism was a reaction against this new theology. The influence of the Alexandrian teachers was dead against the old views. An Egyptian bishop, Nepos, bounded into the breach to save the day for chiliasm in his book *ἐλεγχος ἀλλεγοριστῶν* (about A. D. 260). Bishop Dionysius, of Alexandria, came out against him, and proved that the prophets must be interpreted allegorically. In this fight the book of Revelation was appealed to, and Dionysius felt that he must get that book thrown out of the canon of the Bible. He succeeded. "At the time of Eusebius the Greek Church was saturated with prejudice against the book and with doubts as to its canonicity. In the course of the fourth century it was removed from the Greek canon, and thus the troublesome foundation on which chiliasm might have continued to build was gotten rid of." So chiliasm died in the Greek Church, as well as many other Christian things much worthier of life. But the Latin theologians were faithful to the millennial tradition much longer, and by them also the Apocalypse of John was maintained without a doubt. But after the end of the fourth century chiliasm gradually disappeared. This was due to the influence of Greek theology, and to the altered political relations of the

Church and world which seemed to give no place to the early hopes. History was teaching another lesson. Augustine, the great bishop of Hippo (A. D. 395ff.) in north Africa, got hold of this idea, and with it brought in a new era. The actual Catholic Church is the eternal kingdom of God which is to be set up in the world, and which he has set up, and there is no other. The millennial kingdom began when Christ came, and it is already in the world. The Church must step in and take its rights which the falling empire is bequeathing to it. With these thoughts Augustine destroyed chiliasm as a faith of intelligent men. It still existed here and there, but it had had its day.

Can there be any doubt that in this matter history is a better teacher than misinterpreted prophecy, a safer foundation than an inverted pyramid built on an obscure text of an obscure apocalypse? The kingdom of heaven shall be like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal. That seems the divine plan, the divine philosophy. To work with all our powers to secure the progressive penetration of the world by Christ is both more rational and more Christian than to expect great things from a colossal stroke of state to bolster up a failing cause. But the end shall come and the Judgment, but the times and seasons God has placed in his own power.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARIAN CRISIS: OR, HAVE WE A SAVIOUR AS DIVINE AS HE IS HUMAN?

Is Jesus Christ as truly divine as he is truly human? That was the question raised by the Arian crisis, and perhaps no more important question has ever been raised in the history of religion. On its answer Christianity itself hangs: whether it is one of many religions, a beautiful ethic, fine sentiments uttered by a Galilæan dreamer and prophet, a better Judaism, a better Stoicism, or whether it is the religion of the incarnation, of salvation from sin, of boundless hope and help for lost men and women, a spring of new life, an evangel for individuals as for nations, a message of light and of healing which proclaims that if the soul gets hold of Jesus Christ the arms of the Eternal God himself lifts him up.

I do not think we should be frightened by the remark of the eminent Unitarian, Albert Réville, who, like many of his countrymen, long since left Calvin for Socinus, that "if the deity of Jesus Christ were essential to Christianity, this dogma would not have had a distinct history."¹ Cer-

¹ *History of Dogma of Deity of Jesus Christ*, tr. London, 1878, p 241.

tainly, truth may have a history as well as error, and if it is a live truth it will grow. Historically, the only question is, Did the first Christians believe in the divinity of Christ? If so, in what sense, and why? If not, why not? Were they mistaken? If it could be shown that the early Christians never dreamed that Christ was divine except in the sense in which good and great men are divine, that would be a most interesting discovery, a tremendously important fact, and yet it would not necessarily bind our faith, because in matters of religion the all-important thing is, Is it true? Not, has it ever been believed before, and, if so, when? The early Christians were hopelessly divided on important questions, and they believed things which no one believes to-day. The weight placed upon history by Réville and men of his school is not misplaced, but is one-sided. It needs balancing by other factors, for the deeper question as to a doctrine is always, Is it true? To answer that, history is very important, but other factors are also important.

I have already shown that the notion of some that Jesus was only a spiritually gifted genius did not exist in the first centuries. The burden was to reconcile the actual things for which Christianity stood—that there is one God alone, ever living, loving and working, and that Jesus Christ his Son is divine yet human. In making that reconciliation Christians did

not always reach the same result. A very few (who finally shrank away and disappeared) claimed that he was a man and no more, of purely human origin, upon whom God descended and made divine at some point in his history. Others went further and said that Christ was, indeed, of miraculous birth, but was furnished by God with divinity at his baptism. Others still cut the knot by saying that Christ was simply God the Father himself in one of his appearances or manifestations or unfoldings. These three schools were all trying to keep Christ divine while preserving their monotheism. Now, there was a fourth party, just as strongly monotheistic as the others, who, in my judgment, saw the matter more deeply, more consistently, more in accordance with Christian experience, and, as it happened—and this ought not to be held against them—more in accordance with the noblest things in non-Christian philosophy. This party, starting from a richer conception of God and a finer appreciation of Christ, thought of the latter as existing with and in God in the eternities, either from eternity absolutely or as called into being by the will of the Father from his inmost life, and so an actual part of the manifold essence of the one only God, which, partly for the sake of distinction, might be called his Word (Logos), his Wisdom, his World and Redemption side, and yet existing not simply in

thought or figure or as an attribute, but in actual hypostatic "personal" union and communion (the word "person," of course, not to be interpreted in the ordinary sense of individuals, which would give us two or more Gods). According to this school, we have arithmetically only one God, but this one God is not merely an arithmetically one God (Mohammedanism), but a one God in a manifold, complex, rich, abundant social life, which in the terms of revelation may be expressed, for the lack of better words, in the phrase, "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit"—these three existing in a glorious hypostatic essential union and communion in the life of God, of which analogies may be perceived in the intellect, sensibilities, and will of man, in the substance, heat, and light of the sun. Now, it might not have happened that this school was the nearest to Christ, both historically and spiritually, but it actually was so. That is the view of Christ embodied as to its essence in the first three Gospels. I cannot stop to prove this, but it is a fact. That is the view underneath the representations in the Acts; that is the view which flowers out in the pastures of Paul; that is the view of Peter, and, of course—though not more so in principle, only as to expression—in the writings of John. And when we come to men who may fairly be considered as carrying on this Christian tradition from these sources, with more or less mixture,

with more or less fidelity, we meet the same conception, colored by their environment, by their education, by their literary purpose, but the same essential conception of the deity of Christ, one with the Father, yet distinct from him, and yet absolutely human—Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius.

In the space at my disposal I cannot give my readers a detailed statement of the views of these men, but must refer them to any history of doctrine within their reach. Sometimes in caring for monotheism there seems a placing of Christ below God, but at other times the writer shows that he holds Christ as essentially divine in the preëxistent life of the Godhead. It is a part of the Christian doctrine of God that the Father is the ruler and head and spring of this complex life, and it is not surprising if some of this school emphasized that at times unduly, but the essential thing with them was the oneness of Christ in the eternal ground of Deity, and that part of the Christianity of Christ and the apostles they handed down to us.

It is easy to exaggerate on one side or the other. For instance, Réville (pp. 80, 81) gives a gross caricature of the views of Origen on Christ. "Origen was essentially a Unitarian. Stated summarily, his views amount to this, that Jesus is one of ourselves united to the Deity in the

closest manner by his moral sublimity." Jesus "was man, certainly eternal, but only as we are, and like us in his nature." This thoroughly shallow view of Origen does him great injustice. The Son is the image of the Father, his crown, his wisdom, his Logos, proceeding from him by a process that is part of the being of God, an eternal generation. He is of one substance with the Father, but is also a distinct hypostasis complete in his own substance. "Therefore we worship the Father of truth and the true Son, being two things in hypostasis, but one in sameness of thought and in harmony, and in sameness of will (*Contra Celsum*, 8, 12). But he is subordinate to the Father, is not the highest, but, so to speak, the "second God," dependent upon the Father. This Logos became man, so that we have the God-man.¹ There was certainly a variety of elements in the idea of Christ of this marvelously acute, suggestive, and many-sided thinker, but as to his view of the Logos as being one with the Father in the eternal life of God he was a Trinitarian through and through. "The whole fullness of the essence of the Deity" is revealed in Christ (Harnack, vol. ii, p. 375). Thomasius, who studied with great care the theological ideas of Origen, thus sums up his idea of the Trinity: "There are three divine, independent personalities (hypostases): the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, which

¹ θεάνθρωπος, *De Principiis*, 2. 6.

constitute the holy trias. What is common to them is the divine being (*sein*), the *θεότης*, only with this difference, that in the Father it is original-essential and primitive, in the others derived. The Father is the original ground, alone unbegotten, and elevated above both in the measure in which they are elevated over all other being. The Son is the original revelation of the Father and the Mediator of all further development of absolute life, begotten from the Father in eternity and, therefore, less. The Holy Spirit, finally, is the first revelation of the Son, and holds himself to him just as the Son to the Father, the three hypostases, therefore, being not one (individual or Person, *Einer*), but one (Being, *Eins*). The work of the Father has to do with everything that is and consists in the communication of being; that of the Son in the communication of reason; that of the Holy Spirit has to do with the saints, and completes in them the work of illumination, sanctification, and beatitude begun by the Father and mediated through the Son.”¹ O no; Origen had not thought through the Trinity exactly in the same terms as Athenasius, but he was no Unitarian. Réville is slipshod in other representations as well as in this of Origen, but he does not go as far as Pfleiderer in his lecture delivered at the History of Religions International Congress in

¹ *Orígenes*, Nürnberg, 1837, p. 150.

Amsterdam in September, 1903, expanded into a book, *The Early Christian Conception of Christ* (1905), who reduces Christ to a level of Oriental myths, and throws all his divine attributes and acts into a scrap heap of fables and legends.

I have already referred (p. 84) to what are called the dynamistic Monarchians, who followed a line of thought concerning Christ which has fascinated many. Among others Paul of Samosata, so called from his birth in the Syrian city on the Euphrates, who became bishop about A. D. 260 of the most important see of the East, Antioch, then attached to the territories of the famous Queen Zenobia, of Palmyra, for whom he was a kind of vice-regent. For him Jesus was a man and no more as to any essential pre-existence with God. But he was very much more than a man (1) in his miraculous birth, (2) in being from birth anointed with the Holy Spirit, and (3) in having received the Logos, or Reason, of God, this Logos not being a separate hypostasis in the life of God, but an attribute, like the reason in man. On account of these furnishings he was not only born pure and holy, but he remained thus all his life, achieving a perfect moral union with God. He thus became our Redeemer and won the prize of love. Though Paul thus secured the moral divinity of Christ—if one might so call it—in the strongest way, yet his contemporaries were so dissatisfied with his

teachings that they called councils in Antioch to consider them, and, as Eusebius says (7. 29), "his false doctrine was clearly shown before all, and he was excommunicated from the Catholic Church under heaven." Many of our modern liberals echo with the necessary variations the ideas of the Samosatans.

There was another man in Antioch, probably born in the same town with Paul of Samosata, who sympathized with his views so far as to withdraw from communion with the bishops who had excommunicated him,¹ and whom Theodoret makes the spiritual progenitor of Arius and his followers. In the letter of Arius to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, quoted by Theodoret (1. 4), the former calls his friend "my fellow Lucianist." It is evident, therefore, that the able presbyter, Lucian, the head of an exegetical school in Antioch, was the link between Paul of Samosata and Arius. "It is possible," says Harnack,² "that Lucian not only shared the views of his townsman, but became the head of the national Syrian party in the Antioch church in opposition to the Hellenistic Roman." However, the agreement could not have been perfect or enduring, for Lucian must have later taught the premundane creation of the Logos and his full personality in the flesh of Jesus. This is

¹ Theodoret, 1. 3.

² In *Herzog-Hauck*, 3 Aufl., 1902, vol. xi, p. 655.

shown both by the Christological ideas of his scholars, and by the different way in which the historian Eusebius, of Cæsarea, treats him and Paul, whom he looks upon as a dangerous errorist.

Arius was a presbyter of Alexandria, a pupil of Lucian, a bright, earnest man, tall, lean, with a somber brow, austere and irreproachable in morals, with a smooth, winning address, but ever ready for a theological fight.

What his views were he sets forth himself in a letter to his friend and sympathizer, Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, so interesting and important that I copy it from Blomfield Jackson's translation of Theodoret (1. 4), putting in italics the important parts and revising the translation in places to bring it nearer the original:

To his very dear lord, the man of God, the faithful and orthodox Eusebius, Arius, unjustly persecuted by Alexander the pope [bishop of Alexandria], on account of that all-conquering truth of which you also are a champion, sendeth greeting in the Lord.

Ammonius, my father, being about to depart to Nicomedia, I considered myself bound to salute you by him, and withal to inform that natural affection which you bear toward the brethren for the sake of God and his Christ, that the bishop greatly wastes and persecutes us, and leaves no stone unturned against us [literally, "moves every rope"; the common proverb was, "to let out every reef," or "rope"; also "to move everything," *χρᾶίν πᾶν ροῆμα*]. He has driven us out of the city as atheists because we do not concur in what he publicly preaches, namely; God always, the Son always; as the Father, so the Son; the Son coexists unbegotten with God; he is everlasting; neither by thought, nor by any interval does God precede the Son [it is doubtful if Alexander would have acknowledged this clause];

always God, always Son; he is begotten of the unbegotten; the Son is of God himself. Eusebius, your brother bishop of Cæsarea, Theodotus [bishop of Laodicea in Syria], Paulinus [bishop of Tyre, then of Antioch], Athanasius [bishop of Anazarbus in Cilicia, to be distinguished from his great namesake], Gregorius [bishop of Berytus or Beyrout], Aetius [bishop of Lydda], and all the bishops of the East have been condemned because they say that God had an existence prior to that of his Son; except Philogonicus, Hellenicus, and Macarius, who are unlearned men, and have embraced heretical opinions. Some say the Son is an eructation, others that he is a production, others that he is also unbegotten. These are impieties to which we cannot listen even though the heretics threaten us with a thousand deaths. But we say and believe, and have taught and do teach, that the *Son is not unbegotten, nor in any part of the unbegotten, nor from anything underlying, but that by will and counsel he has subsisted before time and before ages as perfect God, only begotten and unchangeable, and that before he was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established, he was not. For he was not unbegotten.* We are persecuted because we say that the *Son has a beginning*, but that God is without beginning. This is the cause of our persecutions, and likewise because we say that *he is of the non-existent* [ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἔστιν]. And this we say because *he is neither part of God nor of anything underlying* [ἐξ ὑποκειμένου τινός, the same expression as above, and which means, "from any substance, or underlying essence," the intention being to deny Christ's begetting from the essence of God, Arius holding that he was created out of nothing]; for this we are persecuted; the rest you know. I bid thee farewell in the Lord, remembering our afflictions, my fellow-Lucianist and true Eusebius.

From other expressions of Arius we learn that he believed that the Son is the Logos and wisdom of the Father, but not the Logos immanent in God, but only participating in it. The Logos is divine energy, the Son a created divine Being, through whom the world is created. Through his enjoyment of the divine favor he receives the

name "God" and "Son of God." "The Logos is different from and unlike the substance [οὐσία] and peculiar nature [ιδιότητος] of the Father in all respects."¹ He is by nature mutable, but God saw that he would remain good, and conferred upon him in advance the divine glory that he merited. The doctrine is certainly a strange conglomeration. Loofs quotes² Hermann Schultz as saying that "it is in content the most baseless and dogmatically worthless of all the Christologies that have ever appeared in the history of dogma"—and Schultz is right. A Unitarian scholar and lecturer in Church history at Harvard University, the late Joseph Henry Allen, calls it³ "that nondescript, illogical compromise," which made "Christ the Son of God very much in the same way that Jupiter was the son of Saturn and Mars of Jupiter. If Christians are to worship a divinity who is, after all, not the supreme God, what are they better than their enemies?" Arius came out with these views about A. D. 318.

Now, it is instructive that no sooner did Arius thus come forth than he evoked a bitter opposition. Alexander, his bishop, preached against him with positiveness, showing that the Son cannot have come into existence in time, since time

¹ Arius, *Thalia*, quoted by Athanasius, *Oratio Contra Arianos*, 1. 2, § 6.

² In Herzog-Hauck, 3 Aufl., vol. ii, p. 11.

³ *Church History*, Boston, 1883, 3d edition, 1889, vol. i, pp. 110, 111.

itself ("all things," John 1. 3) was made by him; Christ is the effulgence of God (Heb. 1. 3), and, therefore, to deny his eternity is to deny the eternity of the Father's light. His sonship is therefore different in kind from that of man. Your view, says Alexander, is related to that of Ebion, Paul of Samosata, and Artemas, and is against the "apostolic doctrines of the Church." Always God, always Son—that is Alexander's talisman. Therefore the Son is worshiped with the Father.¹ The bishop was so worked up over his presbyter's views that he called two councils (A. D. 320 or 321), in both of which the latter was condemned. Arius then appealed to his friend in Asia Minor, Lucian and his circle, and a synod in Bithynia favored him—perhaps under the dread of Patripassianism. The strife spread, and Constantine, who had only recently become sole ruler of the Roman world, and who had the heathen idea of the oneness of religion being necessary to the oneness of the state, or if there were differences, that they should be held peaceably and buried under outward uniformity, felt that measures must be taken to restore peace to the Church. For this purpose he called a council to meet at Nicæa, in Bithynia, where he had a summer palace, twenty miles from his regular capital at Nicomedia. Nicæa was then an important town on the great highway of com-

¹ Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I. 3.

merce, and easily accessible by water from all parts of the empire. This is the first ecumenical council (A. D. 325), a turning point in the history of the Church, a date which stands with 1517 as the best known in Church history. It was not actually an ecumenical, or universal, council, however, as the number of bishops there were at the most only about three hundred, when there were really about eighteen hundred bishops in the empire. Nor was it representative as to sections of the empire, as the whole Western Church had only seven delegates.

Constantine cared for the council with princely generosity. He paid all the traveling expenses of the delegates and of their presbyters and servants, and saw to their entertainment in Nicæa. This brought all the delegates under personal obligation to him, and helped to secure the adhesion of the council to the views indorsed by him.

What was the opinion of the majority of the council when they came together? Bernoulli says that the most of them had no decided views one way or the other. Some were ignorant; a few perhaps had never heard of the controversy; others looked upon Christ as Lord and Saviour without having thought through the theological implications of that belief; others still were willing to vote according to the strongest arguments, possibly others according to the emperor's wish.

Though not acting as president, the emperor was really moderator of the council, hearing one and then another, trying to calm the Hotspurs, producing reasons himself, and making every effort to get some united decision.

It is significant of the strength of the Athanasian view that Constantine, though originally surrounded by those entirely or partially in sympathy with Arius, changed his opinion. His bishop at Nicomedia (Eusebius) was an Arian; the bishop at Nicæa itself, Theognis, was an Arian; and the emperor's friend and later panegyrist, Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, the Church historian, was, at least, not a strong Athanasian, but, rather, a follower of Origen. "He preferred," says Bernoulli, "the modal theology of the Orient, poorly decked out with philosophical tinsel work; and he could not decide to believe in the unity of the nature of the Son with the Father."¹ Naturally, the half-heathen Constantine would be inclined to the doctrine of Lucian and Arius, which fitted in well with the Roman pantheon. Then he gave Arius, a presbyter condemned by the councils and bishop of his own province, a seat in the council, where he took part in the debates and explained and defended his views. Besides, as just said, the bishops of the East who were nearest to Constantine were Arians and semi-Arians. When we add to all

¹ *Das Konzil von Nicæa*, Freiberg im Breisgau und Leipzig, 1896, 9.

this the fact that the Arians went to the council with unconcealed confidence that they would be victorious, we may be quite sure on whose side Constantine was at the beginning. The fact that, in spite of this tremendous difficulty, the Athanasians won both the council and the emperor speaks volumes.

Outside of the dummies and other neutrals, there were three parties at the beginning—the right, center, and left.¹ The right wing was the Athanasian, apparently not the largest, but the wisest, the most deeply convinced, the most firmly intrenched in the Scriptures and in purely religious arguments, as well as in Christian experience. The members of this party counted, among others, the bishops of most of the apostolic centers, as, for example, Macarius of Jerusalem; Sylvester of Rome; Eustathius of Antioch; Alexander of Alexandria; as well as Hosius of

¹ Seeck, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xvii, p. 10 (1897), says that there were only two parties, and this is true in the sense of the final and logical disposition of the members. But it is not true in the ordinary sense, as may be seen from Eusebius of Cæsarea's letter (in *Socrates*, i, 8 and appendix to Athanasius, *De Decretis*) compared with Theodoret i, 6. First, the Arians presented their creed through Eusebius of Nicomedia, which was rejected, then the middle party presented the Cæsarean creed, which was accepted with the additions insisted upon by Athanasians. The actual numbering in the sources gives two parties (compare *ἐχάτερον ταγμα* in Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii, 13, and Athanasius, *De Decretis*, ii, 3), while the historical facts in the sources imply three. So with the world outside. See also Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism* (London, 1882), p. 52, indorsed by Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. iii, p. 137, note.

Cordova and Marcellus of Ancyra. The center was the mediatory party (headed by the historian, Eusebius, of Cæsarea), sometimes called the Origenist party. They were "neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring," but they leaned toward the Athanasian view, it would appear, as in the end they generally drifted toward that party. Some of them had no good clear views in any direction, so they went in the end with the stronger party. Others of this large section of the council believed earnestly in the real deity of Jesus, but cared nothing for scholastic or metaphysical or philosophical terminology. They knew in whom they believed, but they did not know why they believed it, nor what their belief implied. The left was the Arian party, numbering about twenty bishops, and therefore greatly in the minority. They numbered Arius himself, who fought for his views tooth and nail, his old schoolfellow, Eusebius of Nicomedia, later of Constantinople, and the bishops of the places where the first four ecumenical councils were held—Theognis of Nicæa, Maris of Chalcedon, and Monophantes of Ephesus.

The great opponent of Arius was Athanasius, deacon, and later (A. D. 328) bishop in Alexandria, who stepped forward with a decisiveness and power never known before for the doctrine of the absolute divinity of Christ, a doctrine which, as I have said, was in line with the purest

and straightest tradition, and most in harmony with the New Testament. Partial and defective views passed away—of course not immediately; but Athanasius's polemic, the precision, fullness, largeness, and religious fervor of his defense of the doctrine really created a new epoch in history. I have not space to do justice to his putting of the case; suffice it to say that besides a destructive criticism of Arius's views, he founded his own on (1) a constant reference to the Bible, (2) a showing of the necessity of the entrance of God himself into humanity to secure (*a*) the full truth concerning God and divine things, (*b*) fellowship with God, (*c*) the forgiveness of sins and the certainty of salvation, (*d*) immortality for man, and (*e*) that union with God which is the glory of man. By the incarnation God himself has entered into our race, and thereby lifted it up into abiding fellowship. The race as such, therefore, is, in a sense, a saved and deified race. We have secured grace and righteousness, the Holy Spirit, a new life, with it immortality. It is the religious motive and life which animate the discussions of Athanasius which give them their peculiar appeal. He placed the defense of the divinity of Christ where every true Christian, it seems to me, must feel that it belongs. And as long as Christianity is the religion of redemption, of salvation, of communion with God, and of eternal life, then it

must be the religion of the incarnation; and if so, the men who saved that religion in the Arian crisis wrought a work of permanent value for the human race.

At an early stage in the proceedings Eusebius of Nicomedia drew up an Arian creed which was read by his namesake of Cæsarea, probably as president. Unfortunately, we have no copy of this creed. But we know that it was instantly rejected; in fact, Eusebius was not allowed to read it through, but it was snatched out of his hand and torn in pieces.¹ This seems to show that in A. D. 325 the Church was in no mood to accept Arianism. In fact, the convinced Arians and convinced Athanasians were in a minority in the council, but the latter by sheer power of personality, of reasoning, of logic, and of Christian feeling won over the larger crowd, who were either Origenists or indifferent. If there had been a larger number of bishops from the West in the council, the contest would not have lasted so long.

As the Arian creed was rejected, Eusebius of Cæsarea at length brought forward a creed which as neither distinctly Arian nor Athanasian he thought might be a basis for united action. He called it "our symbol"; and he says that he learned it from the Scriptures, that he received it from the bishops who preceded him, and that

¹ Theodoret, I, 6.

it was the basis of instruction in the Church (Theodoret i, 11.)¹ It reads as follows:

We believe in the one God Almighty Father, the creator of all things visible and invisible, and in the one Lord Jesus Christ, the Logos of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, the only begotten Son, the firstborn of all creation, begotten from God the Father before all times [*αἰώνων*]. By him have all things become, who for our salvation became flesh, and lived among men, who suffered, on the third day rose from the dead, who went up to his Father, and will come again in glory to judge quick and dead. We believe also in the Holy Spirit. Even so we believe that each one has his own being, that the Father is really Father, the Son really Son, the Holy Spirit really Holy Spirit, as our Lord in sending out his disciples to preach also said, Go forth and make disciples of all peoples through baptism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And we are determined so to hold and so to think, and to remain faithful in this faith until death, as we also anathematize every godless heresy.

Now, outside of all these Nicene controversies, this is a pretty stiff creed. Unitarians to-day would abominate it, the semi-Unitarians in our orthodox Churches could not abide it, and no Ritschlian in the world could sign it. It would create fearful dismay if read in a Liberal Religious Congress. To call Christ the Logos of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, as the middle party were willing to do, is to call him all that one can call

¹ The text of this creed and of its enlarged form as adopted by the Council will be found in the appendix to Athanasius's *De Decretis*, and in the *Church Histories* of Socrates, i, 8, Theodoret i, 11, etc. See notes of Hahn to both, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln*, 3 Aufl., 1897, §§ 123, 142.

him. It is a Trinitarian confession through and through. In the light of that, the other expressions that have an Arian look may be interpreted. "The firstborn of all creatures" is a scriptural expression (Col. 1. 15; compare Heb. 1. 5, 6) and refers to the incarnation, foreordained in the very dawn of creation. "Begotten of the Father before all æons" may refer to Christ's sonship as in thought looking forward from eternity to the incarnation, or it may be simply an equivalent for "in eternity," as before time is eternity.

Still the Arians were ready with their interpretations, and as they seemed to be willing to accept that creed—probably to stave off something worse—the Athanasians were in a quandary. They were willing to accept the creed of Eusebius, but they must introduce a few changes so as to exclude all possibility of error. They also wanted to add two or three things not given in the Cæsarea creed, so as to make assurance doubly sure against Arius: (1) They were anxious to put in, "who is from the essence (or "being" οὐσίας) of the Father"; (2) they added "begotten, not made"; and (3) they clinched the whole thing by the words, "of the same essence with the Father" (ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί). Now, all these three additions were really included in the original "God from God, only begotten Son," etc., but for fear the Arians did not think so the Athanasians were bound to have them in.

But these strong characters who were fighting the battles of the divine Christ against Arius at that council were not even content with these explicit declarations, though they might well have been content. For the victor to press his foe too hardly may cause a reaction, may hasten returning sympathies. To carry your views to their farthest analysis, and then to stuff all your inferences down your opponent's throat, may be stalwart orthodoxy, but it may have consequences that will return to plague you. At the same time it is fair to say that the slipperiness of the Arians in seeming willing to accept strong expressions of Christ's divinity, which they interpreted in a way suitable to themselves, made the stalwart party determined to exclude their view (Athanasius, *Ad Afros*, 5). At any rate, the Athanasians not only insisted on the above additions, but they added a list of the Arian errors, ending with an anathema upon them—fateful anathema! Thus revised and enlarged the Eusebian confession was made the Nicene Creed, the first great deliberately formed creed in history, and it was as follows:

We believe in the one God Almighty Father, the creator of all things visible and invisible, and in the one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the one only begotten from the Father, and from the substance [*οὐσίας*] of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father [*ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί*], through whom all things exist [have become], which are in heaven and

which are on earth, who for us men and our salvation came down and became flesh, took on the form of a man, suffered, and on the third day rose from the dead, and went up into heaven, and comes to judge living and dead, and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, There was when he was not, or, He was not before he was begotten, or, He was made out of nothing [ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο], or, He was begotten out of another substance or essence, or, The Son of God [is created or] is changeable or alterable—these the Catholic [and apostolic] Church anathematizes.

Now, the remarkable thing is that this strong Athanasian Creed won the assent of nearly every member of the council. Only two men stood by Arius and refused to sign (one account says five, of whom two repented and signed). Why this success of the right wing? This question is the more interesting as Constantine is sometimes credited with forcing the matter through against the reluctant will of the Council. "The imperial will," says Professor Karl Müller, "bent almost the whole Council, even the Lucianists."¹ Heussi echoes this ("*unter dem Druck des Kaisers*").² Loofs will not commit himself thus, but says simply *unter abendländischen Einfluss*.³ Deutsch says the same, mentioning Hosius in particular.⁴ Let us look, then, at the forces which led to the result of A. D. 325.

1. The fact that the middle party became convinced that their creed (see above) was in agreement with these Athanasian additions and re-

¹ *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i (1892), p. 182. ² *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 157.

quired them for its proper explanation. This comes out in Eusebius of Cæsarea's letter of explanation to his church.¹ This letter shows the deliberation and discussion which these additions received and the fact that they were accepted only because they were the fair inference of their own faith, which, in fact, they were ("We received them," says Eusebius, "when in mature deliberation we examined the sense of his words, and they appeared to agree with what we had originally proposed as a sound confession"). The remark about forcing one's inferences upon others must not lead us to suppose that the center were precipitately induced against their will to receive the additions. On the contrary, the sources show their calm deliberation and their ultimate and voluntary conviction of the truth of those additions. The Origenists were in the half-way house to the Athanasians, and they must either go backward or forward. Their reluctance to follow the logical implications of their creed was their dread of Sabellianism and their dread of losing the historic Jesus, and they did well to dread both.

2. The profound religious interest which centered in the Athanasian view. The Arians had a cosmology, and their view (really semi-Gnostic) fitted admirably into it. But they had no soteriology, no philosophy of salvation. But Atha-

¹ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1, 8.

nasius's theology was built on the background of Calvary. It was interwoven with his soteriology. It is necessary to religion, he argued, that an actual real connection or union should exist between man and God, between heaven and earth. There is no help for us in a God who is over us in a vast universe, without taking hold of us. If we should express the faith truly, we must declare the actual incarnation of God, that Jesus Christ really went out from the highest Lord of the heavens. Only then can we be confident in our redemption. It was the feeling of Athanasius—and he evidently made all his party feel it also—that the very existence of Christianity as a religion of redemption was bound up with the acknowledgment of Christ as truly divine. History has shown that in this he was right. If the first step is a letting-down of Jesus's divinity, the second step is bound to be an explaining away of his atonement. It was this tremendous religious interest—"for us men and our salvation"—of the right wing which made them victorious at Nicæa.

"It was not for a word or a formula," says Harnack finely,¹ "that Athanasius was concerned, but a crucial thought of his faith, the redemption and raising of humanity to divine life through the God-man. It was only from the certainty that the divinity manifest in Jesus

¹ *History of Dogma*, vol. iii, pp. 140, 141.

Christ possessed the nature of Deity (unity of being), and was on this account alone in a position to raise us to a divine life, that faith was to receive its strength, life its law, and theology its direction. . . . Behind and beside him existed a speculation which led on a shoreless sea, and the ship was in danger of losing its helm. He grasped the rudder." Harnack, indeed, says later (vol. iv, p. 49) that while the result at Nicæa "saved the religious conviction that Christianity is the religion of perfect fellowship with God," as over against a "doctrine which had no understanding of the inner essence of religion," the Nicene issue "sacrificed the historical Christ." This was not only not so, but it saved the historical Christ, him whom the genuine records of history describe as not only Son of man but also Son of God. Besides, if Christianity was to be preserved as a religion of redemption, of salvation from sin, no other result could have been reached.

3. It was a tribute to personality. Eusebius of Nicomedia was not a strong character, did not have a single eye, or he would not have drawn up an Arian creed and at length signed an Athanasian one. The head of the middle wing, Eusebius of Cæsarea, was a cultured and learned man, but he had, like Erasmus, the scholar's mind, not the theologian's, and his whole inner nature, his religious experience, was not so absorbed in his

Christology that he felt he must stand by one view rather than by another. He was, therefore, really open to conviction from the Athanasian side. I have already said that the mass of the council were men either open to conviction from the strongest arguments or to pressure from the strongest arm. It is not necessary to say who possessed the arguments.

On the other hand, the Athanasians had men of positive influence. Athanasius himself, in the conferences of his party and in the outside meetings and casual debates with the middle and left wings, must have exercised an enormous influence. In the council itself there was Eustathius of Antioch, a great and notable man. There was Alexander of Alexandria, who was no mean antagonist, but a clear, strong thinker. There was Marcellus of Ancyra, who was a man of iron will and immense power of resistance, whose presence among the Athanasians meant a good deal. There was Hosius of Cordova, an intimate friend of the emperor, who possessed power in conciliation and persuasion, and who well supplemented the theological work of his colleagues with his diplomatic and skillful mediations and explanations.¹ A doctrine that could train and inspire men like these deserves to win.

¹ The Arians are later represented as ascribing immense influence to Hosius in this matter. See Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, § 42. "He put forth the faith in Nicæa," they are supposed to say, though as remarked by Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, 4 Aufl., p. 241, not rightly.

4. The Athanasian party were not only convinced, but they were united, and this, with the additional fact that they possessed the apostolic seats—Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria (traditionally Saint Mark's), Rome, etc.—must have at length made an impression on the majority and on the emperor.

5. This leads me to say that another reason for the Athanasian victory was the convincing of the assembly that the older and sounder tradition was on that side. Eusebius says that he "did well to assent" to the idea that Christ was one in essence with the Father because "we were aware that even among the ancients some learned and illustrious bishops and writers have used the term 'one in essence,' in their theological teachings concerning the Father and the Son."¹ Harnack agrees with this, and says (vol. iii, pp. 141, 142) that "there was nothing new in the common sense of the word" in Athanasius's views; "he had really on his side the best part of the tradition of the Church. New alone was *the fact*, the energy and exclusiveness of his view and action at a time when everything threatened to undoing and dissolution."

6. The emperor. We cannot eliminate him from the victory at Nicæa. He was not mainly

¹ See his epistle to his church in Cæsarea in appendix to Athanasius, *De Decretis*, and compare Athanasius's own statements as to "testimony from their fathers, ancient bishops," etc., in *Ad Afros*, 6,

responsible, but he was in part responsible. "He advised all present to agree to" the Cæsarean creed, says Eusebius, and in his *Life of Constantine* (bk.iii, ch. 13) he, doubtless with a courtier's exaggeration, makes him alone responsible for the final unanimity, "urging all to unity of sentiment, until at last he succeeded in bringing them to one mind and judgment respecting every disputed question." But why did the emperor come over to the right wing, when with his paganism and his court influences at Nicomedia he would naturally have been borne toward Arius? His conversion is to be explained. Was it his homage to strength, his feeling that the men on the right had the deepest convictions, and that finally these convictions thus strongly held by the strongest men must eventually prevail? Was it a dim perception that, after all, the arguments of Alexander's party were the more convincing, and that Christianity to be a winning religion over against paganism must have an absolutely divine Saviour and Lord? His own letter to the Alexandrians after the Council (Socrates, i, 9) shows that the almost unanimous decision of so many impressed him deeply ("For that which has commended itself to the judgment of three hundred bishops cannot be other than the judgment of God," he says; "seeing that the Holy Spirit dwelling in the minds of so many dignified persons has effectually enlightened them").

Bernoulli¹ says that for their victory the Athanasians must thank their own energy. But he also says that the victory was due in part to a successful intrigue. When we come, however, to specifications as to what the intrigue was we are left in the dark. He accuses the Athanasians of two things: (1) Of cutting out the biblical formulas from the Cæsarean symbol, and in their place setting in theological statements which guaranteed the exclusion of Arianism in the sharpest way. But if these biblical expressions were used unbiblically to teach unbiblical doctrines, and if the Athanasians must preserve at all hazards the actual deity of Jesus, were they to blame for insisting on their own formulas? (2) Of using their influence on the emperor for the victory of their side. This, he says, was their intrigue. But nothing further is alleged. He does not say they used their influence badly or unfairly. The emperor had to decide for some side. The fact that he did not decide for the side he would naturally have favored speaks for stronger reasons on the side that prevailed. "It was not necessity which drove the judges to their decision," says Athanasius² "but all vindicated the truth from deliberate purpose."

It is the custom long since to decry the historic creeds and to depreciate the men who made them.

¹ *Herzog-Hauck*, 3 Aufl., vol. xiv (1904), p. 15.

² *Epistola ad Ægyptos*, 13.

Certainly, all will admit that the appealing and binding power of the creed is its truth alone, which truth must not be burdened with the methods of its advocates. At the same time this must be said: speaking after the manner of men, the Nicene Council and Creed saved the Christian religion. At that council two conceptions of Christianity were in a death struggle; one that a created mediator was given to help men, the other that the eternal Son of God himself was incarnated to redeem men and to unite men and God. One gives an ethical religion, a finer Stoicism, a Gnostic demiurge-theosophy, which would have been utterly helpless in the storms that were to come; the other is the religion of the incarnation, of redemption, of salvation through faith, of eternal life in the Eternal Son. The parties in that struggle at the bottom were two only, the Arians and the Athanasians, and it was the great service of the latter that they stuck to their guns until they carried the middle party, whose deeper principles they saw logically led to their own views, made that party see that such was the case, and brought almost every man of them to their own Cæsarean creed as now first logically expressed. But would it not have been better to do that by argument, by the force of truth itself, without a council and creed, and especially without the ingripping of the State on religious matters, with its disastrous conse-

quences? Doubtless. But that method was then historically impossible. To the fact that the believers in the deity of Christ fought their fight at that council as God gave them opportunity we owe it to-day that Christianity exists, not alone on ancient records, but as a regnant and regenerating force in humanity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CATHOLIC CHANGE: OR, WILL CHRISTIANITY REMAIN A SPIRITUAL RELIGION?

IN closing this discussion of early Church crises a word should be said on what was not a crisis in the usual sense, on a movement that did not have a turning point or critical moment, but proceeded so gradually, so insensibly, so inevitably as almost to be unnoticed, as almost to awaken no protest, but which was, nevertheless, one of the most momentous changes, one of the most revolutionary transformations ever known in the history of religion.

First, as to doctrine. I suppose the essence of primitive Christianity might be expressed in the classic passage: God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life (John 3. 16). There was hardly a congregation throughout the Roman empire in the first century and first half of the second which could not have said on the recitation of this text, "Yes, that is our creed; by that we stand or fall." But that morning soon passed. The sacraments began to practically take the place of faith. Baptism came to be looked upon as a regenerating

rite, instead of the symbol of a cleansing already received through faith. The Lord's Supper was changed from a memorial meal or dinner—whether in the family or in the society—in honor of Christ to a solemn ritualistic service in which by a certain transformation in the elements Christ was supposed to enter the communicant in order to impart to his body immortality and to his soul peace. Instead of being a sorrow for sin and an inner attitude toward it, penitence came to be, rather, an external relation to the Church, whether to the prophet or (later) to the bishop. Instead of the penitent being charged simply to live a life of faith and righteousness, various arbitrary duties and tests were imposed upon him. Instead of Christianity being conceived as a new life springing from faith in Christ, it came to be conceived as a new philosophy or new morality. As Von Schubert says,¹ Christianity took as compared with Paul a decidedly legalistic turn, of course not Jewish legalistic but moral legalistic. In the moral conception there worked also an ascetic world-fleeing inclination to purity, a fighting of the sensuous, especially of sexual pleasure, of worldly possessions, etc., while at the same time the mighty commandment of love worked among Christians to love of the enemy as well as to brother love. There followed also self-denial, peacefulness, hu-

¹ In Moeller, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1902, vol. i, pp. 129, 130.

mility and patience, as well as a constant readiness in benevolence encouraged by the expectation of future glory. These moral demands were placed over against sins as the way of life over against the way of death (*Didache*, chapters 1-6), and were enjoined on the baptized. Instead of the simple confession of Christ expressed or understood as the only condition of baptism,¹ moral prescriptions were placed upon the candidate: "Having first taught all these things [all moral things], baptize ye," etc. (*Didache* 7. 1). "Those who become convinced," says Justin (*I Apologia*, 61), "and believe that the things we teach are true, and promise to live according to them, are instructed to pray to and to entreat God with fasting [compare the probable insertion of "fasting" by later scribes, perhaps thinking it had been omitted by copyist, in Matt. 17. 21 and Mark 9. 29] for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought to where there is water and are regenerated," etc. In the vision of *Hermas* those who "fall near the waters and cannot roll into the waters—wouldest thou know who they are? They are they that heard the word, and would be baptized into the name of the Lord (because your life is saved and shall be saved by water, 3. 3). Then when they call to their remembrance the purity of the truth they change

¹ Compare Acts 8. 36, 38, and spurious 37 found only in one uncial.

their minds, and go back again to their evil desires.”¹

I do not refer to the Rule of Faith as a Catholic evolution, though it was so in a real sense, because the content of that rule, as it expressed itself, say, in what we call the Apostles' Creed, especially in its earliest forms, was primitive. There is nothing in that creed but what might be repeated from the heart by the most evangelical Christian, of course placing his own interpretation on the later word “Catholic,” which interpretation would be very likely not that of those who inserted it there. It is, indeed, true that the use of a distinct creed as a test of orthodoxy was a characteristic of the ancient Catholic Church, as opposed to the primitive Church, where a free life led by the Spirit, with spiritual guides, prophetic communications and apostolic counsels, could not be bound by an external yoke. But for all that, there were undoubtedly brief statements of the common faith used in the congregations, of which 1 Cor. 15. 3; Heb. 4. 4; 10. 23; 1 Pet. 3. 2; 1 Tim. 6. 12, are echoes, and which probably assumed a Trinitarian form (compare Eph. 2. 19, 20; 4. 4-6; 5. 19; 2 Thess. 2. 13; Jude 20; 1 Pet. 1. 2, etc.² The younger Seeberg has given a thorough discussion of alleged materials for catechetical instruction in

¹ *Shepherd*, Vision 3. 7.

² See Seeberg, *History of Doctrine*, I, 36-38.

the primitive documents.¹ He says in his Preface: "In this book I hope I have brought forward the proof that soon after the death of Christ a catechism arose formed out of the words of the Lord. The content of the same was preached by the missionaries in the apostolic age, and taught to those who desired to receive Christian baptism. I have been able to make sure the chief pieces of this catechism, and where it was possible to construct with more or less certainty the very words." I give no opinion here as to the correctness of these results. As the years wore on, the controversy with Gnosticism made absolutely necessary the fixing of reliable norms of doctrine and limits of the New Testament canon.

In regard to Church organization and officers, the Catholic evolution froze the fluidity of the apostolic times. As late as the *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (perhaps A. D. 125) we find apostles not swallowed up in bishops, as Catholic theory presupposes, but still existing side by side with bishops (or presbyters), with full rights, but with privileges of continued stay in one place and of money support much curtailed (11. 3-6). If with the Muratonian Canon (about A. D. 175) we place the *Shepherd* of Hermas at about A. D. 150, we have prophets still in full blast.

How then, sir, say I, shall a man know who of them is a prophet and who is a false prophet? Hear, saith he, concerning

¹ *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, Leipzig, 1903.

both the prophets; and as I shall tell thee so shalt thou test the prophet and the false prophet. By his life test the man that hath the divine Spirit. In the first place, he that hath the Spirit, which is from above, is gentle and tranquil and humble-minded, abstaineth from all wickedness and from desire of this present world, and holdeth himself inferior to all men, and giveth no answer to any man when inquired of [for private selfish purposes of the inquirer, as with those who consulted the heathen oracles], nor speaketh in solitude [but only in the congregation], for neither does the Holy Spirit speak when a man wisheth him to speak. When, then, the man who hath the divine Spirit cometh into an assembly of the righteous men who have faith in a divine Spirit, and intercession is made to God by the gathering of these men, then the angel of the prophetic spirit, who is attached to him, filleth the man, and the man being filled with the Holy Spirit speaketh to the multitude according as the Lord willeth. In this way, then, the Spirit of the Deity shall be manifest. This, then, is the greatness of the power as touching the Spirit of the Deity of the Lord.¹

But not only had these charismatic or miraculously endowed officers not yet given way before the crushing power of the rising bishops, these bishops themselves are in *Hermas* not yet discriminated from presbyters or elders. The presidents of the Churches are the elders (*Vision* 2. 4) who are the first to take their seats (3. 1), and when the "squared and white stones that fit together in their joints" are mentioned (3. 5), they are said to be the "apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons," where the old position of things as to identity or parity of presbyters and bishops is presupposed. All this goes to show what we learn from other sources that well along

¹ *Hermas*, *Shepherd*, Mandate 11, Lightfoot's tr.

toward the middle of the second century the bishop as an office of rule distinct from the presbyter (the monarchical episcopate) did not exist in Rome. But forces were driving the Church to an hierarchical organization, such as the necessity of some one to represent the Church over against irresponsible wandering prophets and evangelists, heretical teachers, parties formed within the Church itself, as authoritative witnesses of genuine doctrinal tradition, all of which was helped by the decay of vital piety and the naturalization of the Church in a world whence the Lord had departed, not soon—as it now appeared—to return. Citizenship in heaven (Phil. 3. 20) is not enough. We must build the city of God upon earth, and to do that gradations of officers, as in worldly monarchy, are necessary. The apostolic democracy of a priesthood of believers had departed.

Priesthood of believers, I say. One of the most significant achievements of the Catholic leaven was the transformation of the clergy from ministers to priests. But it was not accomplished in a day. Clement of Rome at the close of the first century is a stickler for order, and he wants laymen to keep their place, but it is evident that he does not consider ministers priests in the proper (that is, Catholic) sense. Ignatius (A. D. 110-117), though he lauds the threefold office of bishop, presbyter, and deacon to the skies, does

not look upon them as priests. The philosopher Justin (about A. D. 135-160) knows no special priesthood of the clergy. In fact, a Roman Catholic scholar has shown that it is not till Irenæus (A. D. 160-180) that we get anything like sacrificial ideas in the so-called Catholic sense in connection with the Eucharist, and then only in the Invocation or Consecration, and that merely symbolical, as desiring to express the offering of the body and blood as gifts to God.¹ He has shown also that there were no altars in churches till the first part of the third century, when they were regarded with reverence only while the Supper service was going on, after which they were simply tables. It is only in the time of Constantine (sole emperor A. D. 324-337) that the altar has any permanent religious significance.² But even earlier than that, by the time of Cyprian (A. D. 250), the theory of a regular priesthood of ministers had strongly asserted itself, a theory which I must believe one of the most false and pernicious for which Catholicism in its numerous borrowings from Judaism and heathenism has ever been responsible.

Striking also is the transformation in Christian worship. So far as we can gather from the New Testament, prophets seemed to have the

¹ Dr. Franz Wieland, *Der vorirenaische Opferbegriff*, München, 1909.

² Wieland, *Mensa und Confessio: Studien über den Altar der chr. Liturgie*, München, 1906.

right of way in the assemblies. To them the believers must always listen with attention, nor, if order is preserved, sit in judgment on their message. But this did not mean that other believers were debarred from participation in the worship by prayer, by song, by exhortation, by prophecy, for their rights were carefully guarded by Paul. In fact, the service in Corinth reminds one of an old-fashioned Methodist class meeting or, rather, love feast, where all not only partake of the sacramental symbols of brotherhood and of union with Christ, but are also equally entitled to contribute to the edification of the meeting, so long as it is done without confusion. By the time of the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* more formal methods have been adopted, as a regular prayer is given to be used in connection with the eucharistic dinner, though it is expressly stipulated that the prophet need have no reference to any such helps; and the prayer itself is vastly different from anything offered by the later liturgies with their somber atmosphere and their solemn priestly tone. In fact, by the end of the first century formal prayers were apparently used in the Church, as in the concluding sections of the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (those sections discovered by Bryennios in the library of the Holy Sepulcher, Fanari, Constantinople, in 1873, and published by him in 1875, the same batch of manuscript containing

the *Teaching* mentioned above, published at the end of 1883), a long prayer is inserted suitable for use in worship, though no statement is made that it was actually so used. According to Justin¹ we could reconstruct a service in his day in this order: I. Prayers. II. Kiss of Peace. III. Bringing forward to the presiding brother (τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελθῶν) bread and a cup of wine mixed with water. IV. Thanksgivings and prayers by him, closed by Amen said in common. V. Distribution of the bread and mixed wine by the deacons to those present. Or, if we take the notice of Sunday worship in chapter 67, in this order: I. Reading of memoirs of apostles or writings of prophets as long as time permits. II. Exhortation or instruction by the president. III. Prayers, congregation standing. IV. The bringing forward of bread, and wine, and water. V. Thanksgivings and prayers by the president "according to his ability" (ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ), followed by the Amen in common. VI. Distribution of the eatables to each present, followed (apparently after the service) by the carrying of portions by the deacons to the absent members. VII. Collection of contributions (apparently both in money and in kind) brought in by the believers. Ah, what a far cry from this Christian brotherhood service of about the middle of the second century to the elaborate liturgical displays, with

¹I *Apologia*, 65-67, about year 138-9.

priestly pomp and various pagan accessories, of later times. Even the service in evangelical churches to-day is formality itself beside the simple and affectionate frankness and reality of the first Christian worship. But in the worship of the so-called Catholic Churches (Greek, Armenian, Russian, Roman, High Anglican, etc.), we are simply in another world.

APPENDIX I

MONTANIST PROPHECIES

THAT Montanism, though purer than the Church, had no promise of a better future may be seen by the relatively small religious and ethical value of its prophecies, which are here collected in English for the first time, and those from Epiphanius translated for the first time. Bonwetsch has brought them together in the original near the end of his book (*Geschichte des Montanismus*, Erlangen, 1881, pp. 197-200).

PROPHECIES OF MONTANUS

Man is as a lyre, and I strike as a plectrum; man sleeps, I awake. See, the Lord is he who removes [or deranges, bewitches, *εξιστάων*] the hearts of men and gives the hearts of men.—Epiphanius, *Haer.* 48. 4, 4, p. 430 Dindorf.

What declarest thou respecting the man that is saved? The just one shall shine a hundred times as much as the sun, and the little ones among you who are saved shall shine a hundred times as much as the moon.—48. 10, p. 437.

Moreover, Montanus spoke thus to the prophets: I the Lord the God the Almighty am residing in man.—48. 11, p. 437.

Then Montanus spoke again that neither an angel nor ambassador [or elder] but I the Lord God the Father have come.—48. 11, p. 439.

For Montanus, it is declared, said: I am the Father and the Son and the Paraclete.—Didymus, *De Trin.* 41. 1 (Migne 39. 984).

[Montanus from those songs: Christ has one nature and energy before the flesh and in the flesh, so that he was not unlike by the difference and unlikeness of deeds. *Nova Collectio* vii. p. 69 in *Patrum Doctrina de Verbi Incarnatione*. Bonwetsch says that this cannot be a real word of Montanus.]

PROPHECIES OF PRISCA

Concerning these the Paraclete speaks excellently through the prophet Prisca: They are carnal and yet they hate the flesh.—Tertullian, *De Resur. Carnis* 11.

The gospel is thus preached through the holy prophetess Prisca, and that the holy minister should know how to minister holiness. For purity, she says, is harmonious [concordat], and they see visions, and, placing their face downward, they even hear manifest voices as salutary as they are also secret.—Ter-tullian, *De Exhort. Cast.* 10.

For those among the Phrygians said, the Priscillians in Pepuza or Kointilla or Priscilla—to have lain down to sleep, and Christ to have come, and to have slept together with her in that way, as she the dishonored said: Christ as in a figure in the form of a woman came before me in a shining garment and threw [ἐνέβαλεν] wisdom in me, and revealed to me there the holy place and thus the Jerusalem to come down from heaven.—Epiphanius, *Haer.* 49. 1, p. 444 Dindorf.

PROPHECIES OF MAXIMILLA

Straightway Maximilla said: Of me you shall not hear, but of Christ you shall hear.—48. 12, p. 439.

And Maximilla said again, Of this pain [or toil, *πονου*], covenant and promise the Lord sent me a partisan, an informer [or guide], and interpreter, having forced me willing or unwilling to learn the knowledge of God.—48. 13, p. 441.

And let it not be said in that same word of Asterius Urbanus [probably Montanist writer] through Maximilla: I am driven away as a wolf from the sheep. I am not a wolf. I am word and spirit and power.—Eusebius, *H. E.* 5. 16, 17.

For the narrator among them tells that Maximilla the prophet said: After me there shall be a prophetess no more, but the end [consummation, *συντέλεια*].—Epiphanius, *Haer.* 48. 2, p. 427.

Eusebius quotes a writer against the Montanists as saying that Maximilla prophesied of wars and anarchy.—Eusebius, *H. E.* 5. 17, 18.

ANONYMOUS PROPHECIES

If you ask counsel of the Spirit, what does he approve more than that utterance [that perfect love casts out fear]? For almost all are exhorted to martyrdom not to flight [Bonwetsch, p. 198, says that the reference is to written expressions of the Paraclete which were at hand]. So that we also make mention of

it. If you are exposed to the public, it is good for thee; for who will not be exposed publicly before men will be before the Lord. Do not be ashamed. Righteousness brings you out before all. Why should you be ashamed of gaining glory? Power shall come to you when you are gazed at by men.—Tertullian, *De Fuga* 9.

So also elsewhere [the Spirit says through a Montanist prophet or prophetess]: Seek not to die in beds, nor in miscarriages, nor in fevers, but among the martyrs, that He may be glorified who has suffered for you.—*De Fuga* 9, at end (substantially the same in *De Anima* 55).

If anyone recognizes the Spirit also he will hear him through the Montanist prophets branding the runaways.—*De Fuga* 11.

I have the Paraclete himself speaking in the new prophets: The Church has power to forgive an offense, but I will not do it lest they commit others.—*De Pud.* 21

For God sent forth the word, just as the Paraclete teaches, as the root the tree, the fountain the river and the sun the ray.—*Adv. Prax.* 8.

He [the Son] having received from the Father has shed forth the gift [munus], the Holy Spirit, the third name of Divinity, the third degree of majesty, the preacher of the one Monarchy, but also the interpreter of the economy [οικονομίας], if any one receives the words of his New Prophecy, and the leader into all truth which is in the Father and Son and Holy Spirit according to the Christian mystery [sacramentum], *Adv. Prax.* 30 at end.

(Origen quotes Celsus concerning certain prophets in Phœnicia and Palestine, and Ritschl, *Entstehung d. altkath. Kirche*, 2 Aufl. 490, believes that they are Montanist. Bonwetsch, p. 199, is inclined to agree with him. Celsus is quoted as saying: "There are many who although of no name, with the greatest facility and on the slightest occasion, whether within or without temples, assume the motions and gestures of inspired persons; while others do it in cities or among armies for attracting attention and exciting surprise. These are accustomed to say each for himself, 'I am God, or, the Son of God, or, the Divine Spirit. I have come, for the world is perishing, and you, O men, are perishing for your unrighteousness. But I

wish to save you, and you shall see me returning again with heavenly power. Blessed is he who does me homage [*θρησκέυσας*]. On all the rest I will send down eternal fire, both on cities and countries. And men who know not their punishments shall repent and grieve in vain; while those faithful to me I shall preserve forever.' ” Then Celsus adds: “To these threatenings are added strange fanatical and quite unintelligible words of which no rational person can find the meaning, for they are darkness itself.” Origen, *Cont. Cels.* 7. 9. I think it rather doubtful whether these people are Montanists.)

APPENDIX II

LITERATURE

For those who wish to carry on further studies a brief list of modern books is here presented. For larger lists, as well as statement of sources, see (besides the sources and books referred to in text and notes above) the Church histories, histories of doctrine, and encyclopædia articles. It goes without saying that I do not stand sponsor for the views of all the authorities referred to below. The student of history must keep an independent mind, and care for neither the so-called conservative nor the so-called liberal, but take for his motto the title of the last book of the celebrated Canadian publicist, the late Goldwin Smith, *No Refuge but in Truth*. He will sometimes find that the interest and stimulus of a book is in inverse proportion to its truth, and sometimes that the trouble with a wrong view is not its falsity but its exaggeration. Unperturbed by new views or old views, he should sit quietly before his problem to find out the facts alone.

CHAPTERS I AND II

On the Jewish-Christian struggle, consult:

Fisher, G. P., *The Beginnings of Christianity*, New York, 1877, pp. 469-505.

Reuss, E., *History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age*, tr., London, 1872, vol. i, pp. 255-315.

Weizsäcker, C. v., *The Apostolic Age*, tr., London and New York, 1895, vol. ii, pp. 1-31, 339-352, 395-397.

McGiffert, A. C., *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, New York and Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 81-93, 192-234.

Wernle, P., *Beginnings of Christianity*, tr., London and New York, 1904, vol. ii, pp. 25-103.

Ropes, J. H., *The Apostolic Age*, New York, 1906, pp. 65-98.

Workman, H. B., *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, London and New York, 1911, chap. i. And especially:

Hoennicke, G., *Judenchristentum im 1 and 2 Jahrhunderten*, Leipzig, 1908.

Schmidtke, A., *Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den juden-christlichen Evangelien: ein Beitrag zur Literatur und Geschichte der Judenchristen*, Leipzig, 1911.

On the question of the authenticity of Matt. 28. 19, see:

Conybeare, F. C., in the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, 1901, Heft 4, pp. 275-288; and especially:

Riggenbach, Eduard, *Der Trinitarische Taufbefehl Mt. 28. 19 nach seiner ursprünglicher Textgestalt und seiner Authentie untersucht*, Gütersloh, 1903.

Riggenbach shows that the alleged quotations of a shorter form from Eusebius are not literal quotations, but free reproductions, that when he does quote he gives the text as we have it, that he did not change his attitude in this regard after A. D. 325, that there is no trace of any MS. tradition of any other Eusebian text, and that such a shorter form cannot be found before Eusebius. He also makes the point that when we read in the New Testament of baptism in the name of Christ we have before us no precise formula. As to such formulas people were in those days somewhat careless. For example: the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. See Haussleiter, *Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses*, München, 1893. This is the alternative Riggenbach draws from the primitive practice of baptism in the name of Christ. Either the first evangelist has himself invented the Trinitarian form of Matt. 28. 19, though they baptized then in the name of Christ, because he thought he could best thus express the meaning of Christ, or the first Church did not look upon the Trinitarian baptism-command of Christ as a distinct formula, nor considered baptism in the name of Christ a deviation from it. Riggenbach decides for the second horn of this dilemma, and believes that the practice of baptism in the name of Christ in apostolic times was an instance of Christian liberty.

CHAPTER III

For Gnosticism, see as above:

McGiffert, pp. 502-505; Wernle, pp. 170-204; Workman, pp. 32-39.

Lightfoot, J. B., *Epistle to the Colossians*, 1875, 8th edition, 1886, pp. 71-111.

Bigg, C., *The Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909, pp. 129-147; and the following:

Mansel, H. L., *The Gnostic Heresies*, London, 1875.

Mead, G. R. S., *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, London, 1900.

Bischoff, E., *Im Reiche der Gnosis*, Leipzig, 1906.

Bousset, W., *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907.

Köhler, W., *Die Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1911. See literature on p. 60 of this.

CHAPTER IV

The first important monograph on the interesting Montanist movement was by Albert Schwegler, the brilliant young disciple of Baur, and after him the chief representative of the Tübingen school, which cut such a wide swath in its day. In 1841, at the age of 22, he brought out his *Der Montanismus und die christliche Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, a miracle of historical power and learning for so young a man. He made the central principle of Montanism the doctrine of the Paraclete, and the new supernatural epoch of revelation founded in and by him. There are three such epochs—the Old Testament by the Father, the New Testament by the Logos, and the later by the Paraclete. The latter founds the Church of the Spirit, all of whose members are priests, who mortify the flesh and reject the unworthy. This brings the end and the millennium. Between the Spirit and the Logos there is a hypostatic difference, and in this movement, says Schwegler, is where you will find the origin of the fourth Gospel and the Church doctrine of the Trinity. Historically, Montanism is a branch of Ebionite Jewish Christianity, to which also the pseudo-clementine Homilies belong. In these Homilies, says our young scholar, you get the principle of the whole Montanist movement, namely, that every revelation of religious truth is prophecy. Its ascetism and its chiliasm are also evidences of its Jewish origin, and when the Catholic Church condemned it she condemned also her own Jewish Christian past, because it “represented the general dogmatic consciousness of the middle of the second century.”

The theological faculty of the University of Berlin gave a prize to a student of chemistry, Waldemar Belck, for an investigation

of Montanism which he published: *Geschichte des Montanismus*, Leipzig, 1883. Belck holds that Montanism was not a reaction toward primitive Christianity, but an advance upon it. This advance consisted in emphasizing universal prophecy instead of the universal priesthood of the early Church, in emphasizing moral discipline toward a complete separation from the world, in a supernaturalism which looked upon God himself as the leader in every Church matter, and in making the Spirit the first member of the Trinity, thus creating a subordination Trinity, but in inverse order. It is hardly necessary to say that both Schwegler and Belck are partly true and partly false. Both Montanism and the Catholic Church were an advance, but in different ways: the former, looking for the near end of all things, narrowed the boundaries of the Church more and more; the latter, conscious of a world task, broadened them.

Over against these one-sided books, Ritschl broke the path for a true view of Montanism in his *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, Bonn, 2 Aufl., 1857, pp. 462-554, and Bonwetsch put the climax in his great monograph *Die Geschichte des Montanismus*, Erlangen, 1881. See also the Histories of Doctrine by Seeberg and Harnack. An Anglican scholar, John de Soyres, did an excellent piece of work in his *Montanism and the Primitive Church*, Cambridge, 1878.

CHAPTER V

Besides the authorities cited in the text, see the histories of doctrine and of the Church.

CHAPTER VI

On Chiliasm, see:

Peters, George H. N., *The Theocratic Kingdom*, New York, 1884, vol. i, pp. 449ff.

Atzberger, L., *Geschichte der christlichen Eschatologie*, Freiburg, 1896.

CHAPTER VII

On Arianism, see:

Workman, H. B., *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, London and New York, 1911, pp. 62-83.

Rainy, R., *The Ancient Catholic Church*, London and New York, 1902, pp. 323-357.

- Bright, W., *Age of the Fathers*, London, 1903, pp. 53-246. And the following special works:
- Kolling, W., *Geschichte der arianischen Häresie bis zur Entscheidung in Nicæa*, 2 vols., Gütersloh, 1874, 1883.
- Gwatkin, H. M., *Studies in Arianism*, London, 1882; new edition, 1900.
- Gwatkin, H. M., *The Arian Controversy*, London and New York, 1891.
- Snellmann, P., *Anfäng des arianischen Streites*, Helsingfors, 1904.
- Rogala, S., *Die Anfänge des arianischen Streites untersucht*, Paderborn, 1907.

CHAPTER VIII

- Besides the Church histories and histories of doctrine, see:
- Wernle, P., *The Beginnings of Christianity*, London and New York, vol. ii, pp. 297-363.
- Means, S., *St. Paul and the Ante-Nicene Church*, London, 1903, chaps. iii and v.
- Fairbairn, A. M., *Studies in Religion and Theology*, London and New York, 1910, pp. 176-204.

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